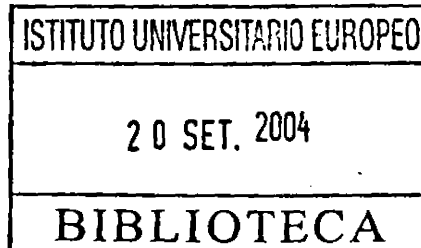


European University Institute
Department of History and Civilisation



Making Politics in the Streets
Political Rituals and Rhetoric in 1860s Sweden

By

Katarina Andersson

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to obtaining the degree of
Doctor in History and Civilisation
from the European University Institute

Florence, October, 2004



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Florence, September 2004.

I. Introduction

Prologue

Amici miei,
La mia Patria può correre verso i suoi
gloriosi destini quando la coscienza di
tutti gli onesti di Europa dice ai suoi figli
« *Avanti ! Io sono con voi !* » - Ma
per alcuni é un ostacolo il putrido melmoso
di Roma. - Altri impensierisce al
cospetto della prepotenza straniera. - E i
pusilli temono. - E uccidono meglio i fratelli
abili a liberarli, che puntare l'arma
contro l'impudente sostegno di una tirannide
quasi impossibile - tanto più infame !

Vi ringrazio per le nobili vostre parole.
Sono pur tanto grato al vostro
libero popolo, che io saluto di pensiero e
di cuore.

Addio, amici. Credete sempre al mio
affetto.

Vostro
G. Garibaldi.¹

This letter was written by Giuseppe Garibaldi in October in 1862 and sent to the citizens of Helsingborg to thank the city for having organized a festival in his honour and for an accompanying message. This letter was one among several in a correspondence between Garibaldi and the Swedish people in 1860 to 1862. Patriotic feelings and more direct contacts between Italy and Sweden in these years were a key feature of the beginnings of the national political movement in Sweden. Thus the Garibaldi movement is an important part of this thesis, demonstrating the importance of a festive culture in making politics in the streets.

¹ ÖP, 10/11, 1862. "Mina vänner! Mitt fädernesland kan gå sin ärofulla bestämmelse till möte, då hela det ärliga Europas medvetande säger till dess söner - „I spetsen! Jag är med Eder! - Men några finna ett hinder uti Roms stinkande pöl - Andra blifwa betänksamma wid åsynen af den utländska öfvermakten - De fege frukta. - Och de döda hellre de bröder, som kunde befria dem, än de med wapen tränga på mot det oförskömmade stödet för ett tyranni nästan omöjligt - så mycket mera nedrigt!"

Political overview

This thesis will study the ways in which rhetoric and rituals were politically employed in Sweden in the 1860s, in particular how rituals and language were used in the context of parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union from 1859 to 1865. Rhetoric and rituals became important tools in 1860s Sweden in order to express a need for constitutional reform and a broader union than that existing between Sweden and Norway. The debates on parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union both focused on the important question of defining a Swedish national identity, in order to convince public opinion about these projects. Therefore, the Swedish struggle for parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union looked for inspiration to the nationalist movements of the European continent. The nationalist movements in France, Italy, Poland, and Hungary became models for politicians wanting to define the need for parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union in the 1860s.²

The constitutions of both Sweden and Norway had undergone some major changes at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1809 Sweden experienced a coup d'état in which the king was overthrown and a new constitution established, while Norway gained a modern and radical constitution in 1814. The assembly of the Estates that followed the coup d'état in Sweden brought about a struggle for power between different political fractions. The Swedish Riksdag however agreed to design a new constitution before considering an heir to the Swedish throne.³ The essence of the new constitution was that royal power should be restricted in favour of a balance between king and parliament.⁴ The *Regeringsform* (constitution) of 1809 was inspired by Montesquieu's formula and of an executive, legislative and judging power. The constitutional revolution of 1809 did not bring about major democratic developments as it merely reorganized existing governmental fractions, making the Estates more powerful. Thus, Sweden continued to be a monarchy and it was not a bourgeois or republican revolution that had taken place. The Swedish historian Lars I

Jag tackar Eder för ert högsinta ord. – Jag är ock djupt tacksam mot ert fria folk, hvilket jag helsar i tanken och i hjertat. Farväl, mina wänner. Waren alltid öfwertygade om min tillgifwenhet." (Translation from the same newspaper.)

² Eimer, *Cavour and Swedish Politics*, Lund 1978, pp. 415-420.; Holmberg, *Skandinavismen i Sverige vid 1800-talets mitt*, Göteborg, 1946, pp. 370-380, 400-405.; Furlani, „La Svezia, lo Scandinavismo e il Risorgimento Italiano“, Turino, 1976, pp. 290f.; Furlani, „Il mito di Garibaldi in Scandinavia“, Rome, 1982, pp. 334-338.; Postén, *De polska emigranternas agentverksamhet i Sverige 1862-1863*, Lund, 1982.

³ The new heir to the throne, Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte, was brought in from France where he had been an official in Napoleons army during the Napoleonic Wars. In Sweden, he became Charles XIV John. See Norborg, *Sveriges historia under 1800- och 1900-talen: svensk samhällsutveckling 1809-1992*, Stockholm, 1993, pp. 240f.; Andersson, Lars, I., *Sveriges historia under 1800-och 1900-talen*, 2003, a., pp. 15ff.

⁴ The new constitution of 1809 has been defined as a kind of noble constitutionalism as it was not striving towards democracy but rather towards more power for the Estates. See Norborg, 1993, p. 81.

Andersson has described Sweden after 1809 as a nation which was “defined by its constitution”.⁵

In 1814, in the peace treaty of Kiel, the victors over Napoleon decided that Norway should be transferred to Sweden from Denmark, its other Scandinavian neighbour. The Norwegians opposed this decision, convening a Norwegian national assembly in Eidsvoll (near Oslo) in the spring of 1814. The Eidsvoll assembly resulted in a radical constitution inspired by the French Revolution, a *grundlov*, on 17th May 1814. The Swedish king, however, was not favourable towards the Norwegian constitution, but rather wanted the decisions of the Kiel treaty to be respected. In the end, King Charles John had to accept some changes, and at a Convention at Moss in August 1814 Norway was joined in a union with Sweden by means of a « riksakt » (statute). The statute stipulated that Norway had not been conquered by Sweden, but entered the union as an independent kingdom with its own laws and institutions. The limitation on its independence was that the united kingdom was to have a common, Swedish, monarch and Foreign Ministry.⁶

Returning to the 1860s, this was an eventful period with the union between Sweden and Norway entering a crisis caused by Norwegian desire to abolish the Swedish right to appoint a *stattholder*,⁷ by discussions on parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union reaching their peak in Sweden, and by Denmark going to war with the German Confederation, for the second time, over Schleswig and Holstein. Furthermore, Finland was also involved in this political turmoil inasmuch as the country was politically divided between Scandinavianists who wanted closer ties with Sweden, and Fennomans who wanted to develop a distinct Finnish nation. The Fennomans preferred to negotiate with Russia than with Sweden.⁸

The main political perspective of this thesis, and its point of departure, is to investigate whether in Sweden there was a connection between the general domestic and international political situation and the organization of political rituals and festivities which were

⁵ „definierades av sin författning“, see Andersson, Lars I., *Fred i vår tid. Sverige, krigen och freden 1870-1945*, 2003, p. 77. Furthermore, Andersson stresses how the German state of Württemberg was another example of a small state which in the nineteenth century reformed its constitution and limited royal power within the state government. Both Sweden and Württemberg were small and protestant states which had a tradition of a parliament of Estates that also controlled foreign affairs. See Andersson, 2003, b., pp. 77f; Norborg, 1993, pp. 79f.

⁶ Norborg, 1993, p. 241-242.

⁷ This meant that the Norwegian *Grundlov* permitted the Swedish king to select a Swedish or Norwegian person as head of the Norwegian government. Holmberg, 1946, p. 329. Holmberg discusses the progress of Scandinavianism in the nineteenth century and also describes the Nordic political situation at that time.

⁸ Regarding Fennomani, see Juva, Mikko, „Skandinavismens inverkan på de politiska stämningarna i Finland“, *Historisk Tidskrift*, 1957, pp. 329-341.; Engman, Max, „Storfurstendömet Finland – nationalstat och imperiedel“, in *Det nya Norden efter Napoleon*, red. Max Engman and Åke Sandström, printed reports for the 25th Nordic Historical Meeting, 2004, p. 180, <http://historia.su.se/historikermotet/rapporter.htm>.

symbolically constructed around an event or a heroic personality. Often, rituals were inspired by foreign political events or foreign political characters. That such a connection existed has been emphasized in a recent dissertation by Jussi Kurunmäki, who writes: „I want to argue that arguments of [sic] foreign national conflicts, especially in Poland and in Italy, were eagerly introduced in Sweden in order to participate [sic] in domestic political struggles. The national liberal campaign for the parliamentary reform in the 1860s is a sign of that [sic]. The national liberals in Sweden were a relatively small but, in the context of reform agitation, loud group consisting primarily of publicists.“⁹

Thus, in the 1860s there was an important relationship between external and internal political affairs, in which the former were used to realize the latter. However, it should also be pointed out that the need for the two desired political changes - parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union - went hand in hand. It was argued that constitutional reform was essential in order to maintain the existing union between Sweden and Norway, and also to make it possible to create an all-Nordic union. The Scandinavian union was used rhetorically in the parliamentary reform question to enhance its importance from time to time.

Parliamentary reform was a key theme in the political rhetoric in the 1860s, and in the end was successful. The theme of Scandinavian union constantly inter-mingled with the parliamentary reform rhetoric, but was not as successful. Political rhetoric in favour of the two reforms, of course, built on an imagined past that related to the contemporary situation and hopes for the future. Therefore, it is not possible to make a direct relation between reform rhetoric and the implementation of reform, but the rhetoric can be seen as a contribution to the decision process of the Estates. The rhetorical themes reflected what was going on in people's minds in those years, and newspaper sources make it possible to interpret public opinion to a certain extent.

The question of Scandinavian union was much debated in the 1860s, as indeed it had been ever since the birth of the Scandinavian Student Movement in the 1830s. The struggles for parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union went hand in hand, the one using the other, until 1864. Thereafter, ideas of an enlarged union came to an abrupt end, in contrast to the parliamentary reform movement and its rhetoric which grew stronger and more successful when in 1865 all the Estates voted in favour of the reform proposal. This thesis will seek,

⁹ See Kurunmäki, J., *Representation, Nation and Time, the Political Rhetoric of the 1866 Parliamentary Reform in Sweden*, University of Jyväskylä, 2000, p. 18.

through examination of political rituals and press language, to investigate how parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union intermingled as concepts in the 1860s.¹⁰

The rhetorical and symbolic inter-relationship between reform and union will be studied from the perspective of constant exchange of language (linguistic connotations) and intertextuality, in order to discover how the issues influenced each other. The concept of intertextuality can be defined in two ways as it, on the one hand, refers to an understanding that « all communicative events draw on earlier events » and that words and expressions from past texts and narratives are re-used. Intertextuality forms a chain of constant inter-relation between texts from the past and the present, and can be a way to connect past, present and future. On the other hand, the concept of intertextuality can be interpreted as referring to different narratives, or discursive spheres, between which texts interact and exchange references.¹¹

This study will begin in 1859 and end in 1865 with the vote in favour of parliamentary reform. In 1859, firstly, there had been the *stattholder* crisis in the union between Sweden and Norway. Secondly, at the Riksdag of 1859/60 discussions on modernizing the Swedish constitution, which had lain dormant in the 1850s, reanimated. Thirdly, a Bill in favour of Italian independence and unification was presented in parliament. Thus 1859 was an important year and a new beginning for both the reform and union movements.

In December 1859, the Swedish businessman Gustaf Lallerstedt presented a Bill in the Burghers' Estate which aimed at officially expressing support for the Italian liberation and unification process.¹² The Bill was historical inasmuch as it was the first regarding foreign politics that had been presented in the Riksdag in the nineteenth century. Apart from the fact that it aroused much attention and celebration in Italy, the Bill also marked a turning point in the Swedish debate on the implementation of a new parliamentary system and Scandinavian union. By sanctioning the Bill, the Swedish parliament took a clear standpoint in favour of Italy and its desire for both liberation and unification. This standpoint also had clear significance for the internal political situation in Sweden because, according to the radical liberals, this sanction meant that the Estates would have to acknowledge the need for

¹⁰ The concept of a union, in the end, faded away as it lacked concrete support in the Swedish government but this will be further described in the political chapter (II). See also Nilsson, Torbjörn, „Scandinavian Liberalism – Prophets instead of Profits“, in *The Cultural Construction of Norden*, edited by Øystein Sørensen and Bo Stråth, 1997, pp. 216-219.

¹¹ See Jørgensen, M and Philips, L., *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, London, 2002, pp. 75-77.

¹² In that period the Swedish press had been full of reports and articles in general regarding the political situation in Italy. Furthermore, in 1859 Cavour and Piedmont had been very active concerning the liberation of Italy from Austria and the Bourbon dynasty and, finally, towards unification. (The battles of, for example, Magenta and Solferino were on peoples' lips all over Europe). It is in this context that Lallerstedt presented his Bill before the

reform in Sweden too. Reform meant liberation of the country from an obsolete system of four Estates in favour of a modern parliamentary constitution.¹³ In addition, the Bill could not fail to affect the relationship with Norway, since according to its principles Sweden could no longer prevent Norway from striving for more independence inside the union.¹⁴ Therefore the abolition of the four Estates in favour of a parliament with two chambers became even more essentially linked to achieving a broader Scandinavian union.

The national liberals in Sweden followed events on the European continent very attentively and reintegrated European political matters into a national context.¹⁵ Much international political turmoil concerned the question of nations' rights and liberties from supposedly despotic regimes. Such events provided suitable examples in a domestic political context in Sweden in order to create a rhetoric in favour of parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union. In Sweden in the 1860s, the demand for parliamentary reform grew stronger and stronger, not only because of the impetus of revolutionary events on the continent, but also the fact that Norway and Denmark had, in 1814 and 1848 respectively, shaken off their absolutist governments in favour of more modern constitutions. Desiring to create a „leading nation“ in any future all-Nordic union, liberals in Sweden argued for domestic changes so that Sweden could be accepted as an equal by her neighbours.¹⁶

A certain difference developed between general liberal opinion, the moderates, and the more passionate radicals such as August Blanche, August Sohlman, J.J. Nordström, Emil von Qvanten and Gustaf Lallerstedt. The moderates were against a Scandinavian union as they believed it to be a dangerous project. However, they were in favour of continuing the already existing union between Sweden and Norway. Furthermore, they thought of parliamentary reform as a cautious political change that would be sufficient to make Sweden a more democratic nation. The radicals, on the other hand, fervently urged the need for parliamentary reform as a step towards a political union between the Scandinavian countries which would

Swedish Riksdag. See Nipperdey, Thomas, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck, 1800-1866*, 1996, pp. 618f.; Woolf, Stuart, *A history of Italy 1700-1860*, London, 1979, p. 449.

¹³ Jorgensen, Th., *Norway's Relation to Scandinavian Unionism 1815-1871*, Northfield, 1935, p.268; Carlsson, S – Rosén, J., *Svensk historia 2: Tiden efter 1718*, 1961, p. 327f.

¹⁴ In 1859, there had also been a union crisis between Sweden and Norway due to the fact that Norway wanted to abolish the Swedish right to elect a governor (stattholder) for the Norwegian *Storting*. The desire to abolish the stattholder was supported by the Swedish king, Charles XV, but not by the Swedish Riksdag. In the end, Charles XV had to take back his promises to Norway and accept the decision of the Swedish Riksdag and its government that the governor office should remain.

¹⁵ When using the term national liberals I refer to the liberals engaged in the contemporary liberal movement, both pro-Scandinavian and pro-Reform liberals, as they aimed at achieving national political changes.

¹⁶ Holmberg, 1946, pp. 370ff; Gullberg, pp. 82f; Carlsson-Rosén, *Svensk historia 2: Tiden efter 1718*, Stockholm, 1961, pp. 329f; Sandström, 2004, p. 145. Sandström stresses that it was not „exaggerated to claim that the ideal nordic state, in the eyes of many Swedish Scandinavianists, should have a king named Oscar or Karl[...]“. Sandström further says that in the end it was conflicting interests that brought about a defeat of political Scandinavianism.

make a future united Scandinavia into a great military power.¹⁷ As will be shown in the empirical material, they used a romantic language enriched with military metaphors and allusions to Sweden's past as a great power.

The radical liberals were thus in favour of both parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union, hoping that the first would lead to the second. After the failure to create a military alliance between Sweden-Norway and Denmark in 1864, the idea of a Scandinavian union suffered a major defeat. King Charles XV, together with Henning Hamilton (the foreign ambassador in Copenhagen), had allied himself with the Scandinavian movement in order to mobilize opinion in favour of Scandinavian union. The reality, however, was that the Swedish government wanted parliamentary reform, but not a Scandinavian union. Charles XV would have had to push through a change of cabinet in order to succeed with his pro-union politics that lay beyond the political realism of the time. When the union plans, therefore, came to an end in 1864, the radical liberals narrowed their focus to parliamentary reform and managed to make this into a countrywide people's movement.¹⁸

When discussing the liberal- and pro-Scandinavian movement and their efforts to convince public opinion about the necessity of Scandinavian union, one can trace a pattern back to the first Schleswig-Holstein-conflict in 1848. However, I will not begin my empirical study in 1848 as the connection between political rituals and foreign political events becomes convincing only a decade later. Political meetings were of course organized before 1859, but the Garibaldi movement was the starting point of an intensive phase of pro-reform and pro-union campaigns in which rituals and language explicitly became tools of conviction. The phenomenon then more or less ended in 1865 when the parliamentary reform proposal was ratified by the four Estates.

Liberals and pro-Scandinavians had, certainly, tried to mobilize public opinion in favour of an active war policy in the political conflicts 1848 and onwards. The political conflicts in question were the first Schleswig-Holstein conflict that year, the Crimean war of 1853, the Polish uprisings of 1863 and the second Schleswig-Holstein conflict of 1864. The

¹⁷ August Sohlman was the editor of *Aftonbladet* in the 1860s, J.J Nordström was director-general of the central board of national antiquities and was also, as was Emil v. Qvanten, from the Swedish-speaking part of Finland and thus in favour of reuniting Finland with Sweden. August Blanche was a liberal journalist from Stockholm and the editor of *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* in the 1860s. He was a member of the Burghers Estate in the Swedish Riksdag and there he sustained the Bill on the Italian question in 1859. As his admiration of Garibaldi almost turned into a cult he also sympathized with very radical political groups, but that ended in 1864 during his visit in Italy when he discovered to have more in common with the patriarchal liberalism of Dolfi than with Mazzini. According to Eimer, he deep down he was a supporter of the Swedish monarchic tradition, even though was fairly radical for a while. See Eimer, 1978, p. 202; the distinction between national liberals and radical liberals is often difficult to make as the opinions of both groups regarding Scandinavian union often changed.

rhetoric in favour of an interventionist policy in these conflicts was part of plans to achieve a future all-Nordic union. To pursue an active war policy can also be considered a way of reanimating the Swedish past as a great power in the sense that it expressed the need for an aggressive foreign policy in order to achieve union. Such Scandinavian union was considered essential for defending the peninsula against Russian as well as German expansionism.¹⁹

Already, during the first Schleswig-Holstein war, Sweden-Norway moved from an initially neutral to a more active foreign policy in May 1848, when King Oscar I declared in favour of giving Denmark the military help they asked for in order to defend territory close to the German border. The Swedish cabinet ratified these plans, but only on the condition that at least one of the great powers backed Sweden and Denmark.²⁰ The answer, in previous historical research, to why Sweden suddenly changed its mind about helping Denmark has mainly been that the liberal and pro-Scandinavian press played an important role. The liberal movement mobilized strong public opinion in favour of an intervention in the war on Denmark's side. The pro-Scandinavians saw an active war policy in the Danish-German (German Confederation) conflict as a step towards future union between the Nordic countries. Another explanation proposes that King Oscar I wanted an active war policy in order to distract attention from demands for parliamentary reform in Sweden.²¹

Regarding the Crimean war, this war had great importance for public opinion in Sweden and for the relationship with Russia. Liberal public opinion demanded active Swedish participation in the war. By helping the western powers in their struggle against Russia, the national liberal movement hoped for a weaker Russia which would enable Finland to be reclaimed from the mighty eastern neighbour.²² Oscar I was in favour of actively supporting the western great powers in the Crimean war.²³ One explanation has been that liberal public opinion in Sweden forced Oscar I to become anti-Russian. It has also been argued that the king used a group of liberal friends, the *kamarilla*, to spread anti-Russian propaganda. In this

¹⁸ Gullberg, 1972, p. 82f.; Carlsson-Rosén, 1961, p. 329f.; Eimer, 1978, p. 417f.; Furlani, 1976, p. 291.; Hallendorff, *Illusioner och verklighet. Studier öfver den skandinaviska krisen 1864*, Stockholm 1914, p. 132ff.; Holmberg, 1946, p. 370ff.; Postén, 1982, p. 227f.

¹⁹ Gullberg, 1972, p. 82f.; Carlsson-Rosén, 1961, p. 329f.; Eimer, 1978, p. 417f.; Holmberg, 1946, pp. 370-390.; Postén, 1982, p. 227f.

²⁰ Becker-Christensen, H., *Skandinaviske drømme og politiske realiteter*, Aarhus, 1981, p. 196ff. The German Confederation was a federal assembly set up in connection to the peace congress in Vienna in 1815 by the 38 independent German states and Austria. Pflanze, *Bismarck and the development of Germany*, Princeton, 1968, pp. 240f.

²¹ Hellstenius, Mats, *Krigen som inte blev av*, Lund, 2000, p. 61f.

²² Hellstenius, 2000, pp. 111f; 123.

²³ The conditions for this support was, however, that the great powers should send troops to the Baltic Sea, give certain guarantees for Finnish reunification with Sweden, and that Austria should be part of the alliance. When it was clear that these demands were not going to be fulfilled, Sweden held on to its neutrality policy.

way the king played an active part in political decision-making as he, himself, mobilized public opinion in favour of war.²⁴

The Polish uprising evoked feelings of sympathy in Sweden for a people that suffered from Russian oppression. The national liberal movement tried to mobilize public opinion against Russia and talked about the necessity for Sweden (supported by Napoleon III) to enter into a war against Russia. King Charles XV was openly pro-Polish and made an offer of alliance to Napoleon III. He saw the Polish question as an opportunity to strengthen his own power within Sweden. Then the king would be able to realize his dreams of a Scandinavian union, of which he was to monarch.²⁵ Even though Polish agents and Russian revolutionaries came to Stockholm, offering their help to the Swedish radical liberals, pro-Polish enthusiasm never managed to mobilize significant support in the country. The Swedish government was also very hesitant to act in favour of Poland and considered most of the anti-Russian propaganda as very foolish.²⁶

In 1863, in preparation for the second Schleswig-Holstein conflict, King Charles XV, supported by the Scandinavian movement, tried hard to mobilize public opinion in favour of a military alliance with Denmark. The king even tried to go behind the backs of his ministers when he promised to enter into an alliance with Denmark, but was not successful.²⁷

The pro-Union propaganda, thus, received royal support as well as a certain direction during the 1850s and 1860s, and it consistently referred to foreign political conflicts in order to legitimize the aims. It was a pan-national movement that had political and dynastic aspects. The political aspect was the effort to create a federation between the Nordic countries in order to protect Scandinavia from Russian and German expansionism. The dynastic project was to construct a union with King Charles XV at its head, striving to turn Sweden into the ruling partner.²⁸ Though the idea of Scandinavian union was pan-national, the supporters of a dynastic union thus often thought of the union plans as a way to create a „big“Sweden.²⁹

The Scandinavian movement was influenced by national unification movements on the Continent and, specifically, it had taken Italian unification as a model. However, the Scandinavian situation developed under conditions differing from those in Italy and Germany. Denmark, Sweden and, to a certain extent, Norway were independent nation-states with

²⁴ Hellstenius, 2000, pp. 111f; Carlsson-Rosén, 1961, p. 322f. The November Treaty of 1855 meant that Sweden declared it could not give away any territory in the northern parts of Norway to Russia. If Russia claimed any hunting- or fishing rights in those territories, the western powers would interfere on Sweden's side.

²⁵ Carlsson-Rosén, 1961, p. 329.

²⁶ Carlsson-Rosén, 1961, p. 329.

²⁷ Holmberg, 1946, pp. 365-375.

²⁸ Gullberg, 1972, pp. 30-33, 45-46.

²⁹ Abrahamsson, Å., *Ljus och frihet till näringsfång*, 1990, p. 369.

distinct political goals and not made up of smaller duchies as Italy and Germany. Denmark and Norway, furthermore, had modern constitutions which made it near-impossible for Sweden to play the role of Piedmont, or Prussia, in the North. A union dominated by Sweden could therefore not succeed because a constitutionally obsolete Sweden would not be able to take the leading position. Neither would it be possible for Sweden to annex Denmark and Norway in order to create a Scandinavian union without a reform of its own constitution.

Sweden did not manage to mobilize the nationalist movement in the unification process as Cavour had done and Bismarck would do. According to the Danish historian Uffe Østergaard, this was because the Scandinavian idea had no real support from „above“, i.e., from the government, and thus there could follow no national gathering from „below“, from the people.³⁰ It was true for Sweden that the movement had no real support from the cabinet, but it is not true that there was no national gathering from below. Therefore, I will aim to show how efforts were made to mobilize public opinion for parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union, until the latter faded away after the Ulriksdal conference in September in 1863. At Ulriksdal, the Swedish cabinet definitely said no to any plans for military alliance with Denmark, this put an end to possibilities of Scandinavian union.³¹ The Swedish government did not want to jeopardize its good diplomatic relationship with Russia in that period, and feared that propaganda in favour of a united Scandinavia would be seen as a threat by Russia.³²

The empirical study

Methods

The political context of the thesis has thus been sketched and the second step will be to present the object of the empirical study. Parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union were central political aims in the 1860s, at a time when external political events were integrated into national political rhetoric. To explore this rhetoric, I have focused upon the political rituals and press language of that period.

All through the nineteenth century, and especially from the 1830s onwards with the birth of the Scandinavian Student Movement, there had been a Scandinavian tradition of organizing meetings, processions, dinners and other assemblies to discuss possibilities of

³⁰ Østergaard, U., „Norden-europeisk eller nordisk?“, in *Den Jyske Historiker*, nr. 69-70, 1994, pp. 11-14.

³¹ Hallendorff, *Dagarna på Ulriksdal*, pp. 5ff.

³² Becker-Christensen, 1981.

future union. Students from the major university towns in the Nordic countries visited each other to discuss, sing, drink punch and make speeches.³³

In the 1860s, there was great eagerness to organize political festivities with processions and dinners, balls, and light shows. Rituals could be organized from “above” i.e. sanctioned by the state as well as from “below” (i.e. local initiatives). The first example of a national political festivity, organized by local burghers in Helsingborg, was the Stenbock Festival in February in 1860, followed by the Garibaldi movement in 1860-1862, with festivals and processions in honour of Giuseppe Garibaldi, festivities to sympathize with the Polish people i.e. Poltava festivals in 1862, festivities on Charles Day (28th January) in 1863, Union celebrations in 1864, and reform meetings and the Engelbrekt festival in 1865, and lastly reform festivities after the ratification of the reform proposal.³⁴ All these political rituals were interspersed with discussions regarding parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union.

A distinction should be made between, for example, the Garibaldi movement and its festivals and processions and the more official Union festivities that were sanctioned from « above » i.e. the state. The Garibaldi rituals were part of the Garibaldi movement, and linked the Garibaldi Fund, after the success of the Bill in 1859. A group of radical liberals in Sweden was the main initiator. In Stockholm Gustaf Lallerstedt and August Blanche were the key figures in this context, who in addition had support from several Finnish pro-Scandinavian immigrants who considered Garibaldi an inspiration for the liberation of Finland from Russian domination. In Sweden, Garibaldi and his people’s army *I Mille* became a model and inspiration for the sharpshooter movement.³⁵

Given that some four or five towns in Sweden were outstanding in their activity of organizing processions, festivals and other meetings, it has been natural to choose them as case studies for the thesis. The towns Helsingborg, Göteborg, Örebro, Stockholm and, to a certain extent, Norrköping will be the main geographical centers. They were all towns with a liberal colour, where the local burghers were very much engaged in associations and politics in general. Furthermore, the local newspaper editors were fervent spokesmen for Scandinavian union and parliamentary reform, and thus helped spread the liberal political

³³ Nilsson, F., *I rörelse. Politisk handling under 1800-talets första hälft*, Nordic Academic Press, Lund, 2000, p. 121f; p. 125f.

³⁴ Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson was a mine owner from Dalarna, a province in the north of Sweden, who in the beginning of the 15th century, together with the miners and peasants of Dalarna, rebelled against Erik VIII of Pomerania. Erik VIII was king of Denmark, Norway and Sweden founding the Kalmar union in order to protect the ports of the Baltic Sea, he was constantly at war with foreign aggressors. Engelbrekt and his miners and peasants were successful in their rebellion and thus Engelbrekt was elected “Guardian of the Realm” at Arboga Diet in 1435, but Swedish magnates conspired against and finally murdered him in 1436. See Scobbie, I., *Historical Dictionary of Sweden*, London, 1995, p. 62f.

³⁵ Furlani, S., “Il mito di Garibaldi in Scandinavia”, 1982, pp. 334f.

messages of social change. In addition, Stockholm was the capital and the liberal movement had its center there.³⁶

The Garibaldi movement and its political festivities were an initiative from "below", in which local people were the organizers and participants. Even though the idea was introduced by a few radical liberals, it was mainly local burghers and publicists who organized local activities. The movement supported a revolutionary initiative which aimed at liberating a country (in this case Italy) and its people from an oppressive regime. By supporting a movement for liberation and unification, Swedish liberals were using the symbols of Garibaldi and Italy in order to say something about the national political context.

The Union celebrations, on the other hand, were organized in order to celebrate and confirm the union between Sweden and Norway that had existed since 1814. In 1864, after the failure of the military alliance with Denmark, there was great need for legitimizing the existing union with Norway. The Union festivities were ordered from above; King Charles XV decreed how the celebrations should be performed.

The rituals for celebrating Union Day can be divided into *open* and *closed* celebrations. This means that parts of the celebrations were not open to the general public. They could not participate because of entrance fees or lack of invitation. The Union celebrations were of an official character and in general not open. Instead, their purpose was to act as spectators and thereby confirm the importance of the state. There were, however, also festivities and processions which were organized at a local level, open for the general public to actively participate, but these local celebrations were also off-springs from central planning. All Swedes, high and low, were encouraged to celebrate Union Day in order to confirm the legitimacy of the Union.³⁷

The construction of a narrative

When discussing rituals and newspaper language it becomes important to focus on liberal public opinion in the 1860s: how it used press and civic rites in order to construct a symbolic story, i.e. a narrative. The civic rites, the symbolic language and the images become important for understanding the political content and the aim of the constructed narrative. The texts take on meaning in relation to the political context in which they were used, and therefore rituals,

³⁶ For further information and description of the different towns chosen for the case studies see the biographical appendix.

³⁷ The distinction between open and closed celebrations can be applied also to other rituals, such as the Poltava festivals, the Charles Day festivities and the Reform festivities. In some sense it can also be applied to the Garibaldi festivities because during the fund raising for Garibaldi and his expeditions, musical evenings and other events, with entrance fees, were organized.

poems, songs and other textual excerpts do not have a specific, lasting, meaning *per sé*. In this context the Swedish historian Charlotte Tornbjör stresses that "The discursive concept[...]implies that the analyzed texts do not have a fixed deeper meaning linked to their origin or author. Therefore it is not interesting to try and reach "behind" them to try and find out about the "true" motive of the author."³⁸ This is a rather structural approach, where meaning is to be found within the text i.e. the meanings of power, as Tornbjör says. The author stays in the background and has no direct influence on its structural meaning.³⁹

The narrative should be considered an unstable structure, and competitive with other narratives on different levels. As in the context of intertextuality, different competing narratives influence and exchange concepts with each other. The constant exchange and intermingling of structural concepts between narratives makes them stronger and progressive and Tornbjör says: "this process creates space for changes in society".⁴⁰ Narratives of parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union in 1860s Sweden were very much interconnected with each other, and constantly exchanged symbolic language. Intertextuality became an important means for defining political society and the changes the people wished for.

Thus, opinion in favour of parliamentary reform and of Scandinavian union often used the same symbols and metaphors to express itself. A metaphor can be defined as a way of understanding or experiencing a concept or a "kind of thing" in "terms of another".⁴¹ Generally speaking, metaphors are expressions used in a transferred sense. A symbol is defined as something that „stands for[...]or denotes something else“ and especially in the sense that a material object can be taken to represent „something immaterial or abstract, as a being, idea, quality[...]a typical figure, sign or token“. The symbol can also be considered as a way of explaining something, a phenomenon, by referring to something already known to the receiver.⁴²

Tornbjör stresses that symbols and metaphors that are used in a national context, such as home, family, motherhood, and brotherhood, are used and interpreted differently by

³⁸ „Diskursbegreppet är användbart i detta sammanhang eftersom det implicerar att de undersökta texterna inte har någon fast inneboende mening enbart länkad till dess ursprung eller upphovsman. Det är därför inte intressant att försöka gå „bakom“ dem och leta rätt på författarens „verkliga“ motiv.“ See Tornbjör, Lotta, *Den nationella modern*, Lund, 2002, p. 22.

³⁹ In literature, the structuralist approach has its origin in Russian linguistic Roman Jakobson and the Prague Circle. They prompted to study the internal structural mechanisms and functions of the text in order to understand its means of communication. Cf. Jakobson, Roman, *On Language*, edited by Linda R. Waugh and Monique Monville-Burston, Harvard University Press, 1990, pp. 1-8.; Saussure, Ferdinand De, *Course in General Linguistics*, edited by Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye, London, 1983.

⁴⁰ Tornbjör, 2002, p. 24. „...denna process ger utrymme för samhällslig förändring.“; Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, pp. 75-77.

⁴¹ Cf. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, Chicago, 1980, p. 5., Tornbjör, 2002, p. 24.

various groups.⁴³ Thus certain heroes and symbolic events from the past were used in order to spread political messages to the Swedish people. Rites, festivities, processions, and demonstrations were thus excellent ways of reaching a broader public both in the towns and in the countryside. The many and very detailed reports on the political festivities in the newspapers across the country contributed to make the public aware of the political climate in Sweden and in Europe in the 1860s.⁴⁴

The possibilities for narrating a story have by Northrop Frye as well as Hayden White been divided into the different plot structures of "[...] Romance, Tragedy, Comedy, and Satire".⁴⁵ White claims it to be important for a historian to "emplot" the historical writing in any of the above narrative forms. In the context of this thesis, the structures of Romance and Comedy will be the most adequate emplotments to refer to when trying to analyze the constructed pro-reform and pro-union narratives. The Romance tells the story of triumph of "good over evil, of virtue over vice, of light over darkness [...]" while Comedy has a beginning in turmoil but then ends in "reconciliation" which is "symbolized in festive occasions" used to define changes that have occurred.⁴⁶

The source material (the press) will be the fundamental base in tracing the story which was constructed to describe the political and social reality. It is important to have in mind that the liberal movement constructed a story about parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union. Myths and symbols were loaded with political values and ideas so as to convert them into something that „stood outside the ordinary course of history“. In this way, they were to be accepted and „venerated“ as something exceptional that promised a better world beyond the daily life of the people.⁴⁷ The constructed story, the narrative, was a story about how the pro-

⁴² Oxford Advanced Dictionary online; Petersson, Olof, *Metaforernas makt*, 1985, pp. 1-15.

⁴³ Tombjer, 2002, p. 25.

⁴⁴ To stress the connection between rites and festivals and the newspaper press, and the importance it had for reaching out to a broad public, is nothing new. Simon P. Newman has shown how the relationship between rites and press in late eighteenth century America and the general „sharing of information made possible the emergence of a common national language of ritual activity“. Furthermore, Newman stresses the fact that the people, by participating in rites and festivities, gained an „awareness“ of acting and an identity on a local as well as on a national level. See Newman, S.P., *Parades and the Politics of the Street*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997, p. 3. See also Truesdell, M., *Spectacular Politics, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte and the Fete Imperiale, 1849-1870*, Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 6., who says that traditional public ritual and festivity were given new content during the revolution and thus became „vehicles“ for the people to participate in the political press.

⁴⁵ White, Hayden, *Metahistory. The historical imagination in nineteenth-century Europe*, John Hopkins University Press, 1973, pp. 8-9.

⁴⁶ White, 1973, p. 9.

⁴⁷ Mosse, George L., *The nationalization of the masses*, New York, 1975, p. 21.

reform and pro-union liberals wanted the rest of the Swedish population to perceive their society and its possible future.⁴⁸

The narrative was, for example, persuasive on the issue of parliamentary reform. In 1859 the Peasants' and Burghers' Estates reintroduced the parliamentary reform question by presenting a petition before the king. They declared their demands to be the abolition of the Estates, which should be substituted with common elections, but apart from that demand they more or less handed over decision-making to the government. Thereafter, Prime Minister Louis De Geer started working on a reform proposal which was presented to and, accepted in a first reading, by the Riksdag in 1863. The destiny of the reform was to be decided at the Riksdag two years later, in December 1865. In October that year, the conservatives in the Nobility Estate, who were against the reform proposal, seemed to be in a clear majority, but during the next few months things would change.⁴⁹

A massive propaganda movement in favour of the proposal had started in the press, and reform societies had been formed all across the country in the spring of 1865. However, the propaganda movement intensified during the last months before the decision. Reform meetings were organized in order to show that public opinion was in favour.⁵⁰ Another important step was that King Charles XV's advisers convinced him to accept the reform proposal. With his support, the government started putting more political pressure on the conservatives in the Nobility Estate.⁵¹ This royal legitimacy can be put into European context. The historian Abigail Green has stressed how the liberal movement in nineteenth-century Germany forced monarchies (in, e.g. Württemberg and Saxony) to make changes towards „modern constitutional and representative governments“. At the same time as princes of the German states chose to act in accordance with the spirit of time, they also decided to work with, and support, the will of the people.⁵² In Sweden, the people i.e. the peasants and the burghers presented a petition on reform to the king after whom Charles XV also chose to work with his people.

⁴⁸ The existence of a *realpolitik* shows us what political goals were achieved, but still the constructed story such as it was created by national and radical liberals, the press, the liberal- and Scandinavian movements together shows how constitutionalism and nationalism were important in order to create a possible narrative.

⁴⁹ Nilsson, Göran.B., *André Oscar Wallenberg II. Gyllene tider 1856-1866.*, 1989, pp. 275, 279f.

⁵⁰ L. J Hierta, the former editor of *Aftonbladet*, presented a petition in favour of the reform proposal. This petition was signed by 59 000 people from, mainly, the lower classes in society. See Nilsson, 1989, pp. 279-282

⁵¹ Nilsson, 1989, pp. 281-282; Carlsson-Rosén, 1961, pp. 341ff.

Structural overview

To sum up the focus of the thesis, I will concentrate, firstly, on how the Swedish national liberal movement used foreign national conflicts in order to build up a rhetoric in favour of parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union. Secondly, I will analyze political rituals and press language in order to empirically investigate how that rhetoric was constructed and employed. Finally, the political context and the analysis of the empirical material will be brought together in order to arrive at a conclusion on how political rituals and language played an important part in the political arena in 1860s Sweden.

⁵²Green , A., *Fatherlands; state-building and nationhood in nineteenth-century Germany*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2001, p. 95.

II. Field of Research

It was even more significant that following the advice of Napoleon, questions of parliamentary reform and Scandinavianism had been connected, because from now on this combination became the leading principle in the politics of Charles XV.¹

To re-animate Swedish opinion, which had little interest in Scandinavian thought, parliamentary reform would be necessary. On the waves of that enthusiasm, should it awaken, Carl XV would sail into the port of the Scandinavian union.²

The struggle for parliamentary reform is to be understood as having been a temporary goal for the national liberal movement in Sweden during the 1860s, as a first step towards a future Scandinavian union. The issues of reform and union intermingled. The liberal and pro-Scandinavian movement used foreign political conflicts (the German-Danish conflicts, the Crimean war and the Polish uprising, among others) to mobilize public opinion not only in favour of Scandinavian union and an active war policy, but also to the need for parliamentary reform aiming at liberalizing and democratizing domestic politics.

Historical research on the importance of the liberal press and public opinion for the development of the ideas of Scandinavian union and parliamentary reform in Sweden. The most important study in this field, by Stig Ekman, analyzes the reform movement and its organization of pro-reform propaganda in 1865 is not rich. Ekman has stressed how the liberals sought to create a broad reform movement in 1865 in order to secure a majority in favour of reform. The aim was to convince the conservative opposition that parliamentary reform would be favourable also to those who could not openly support the proposal.³

Furthermore, historical research lacks on the issue of how the Scandinavian and liberal movement actually worked through channels of rituals, language and press. Earlier historians have mainly taken centralized perspectives focussing on the political and diplomatic aspects of the coupling of reform and union in the 1860s. My research seeks to contribute to this field of research by showing the importance of politics beyond governmental center. Political festivals, processions and meetings, together with symbolic language (in songs, poems, speeches, articles etc.), were essential for the struggle for parliamentary reform and an enlarged Scandinavian union.

¹ Holmberg, A., *Skandinavismen i Sverige vid 1800-talets mitt*, 1946, p. 370.

² Gullberg, E., *Tyskland i svensk opinion 1856-1871*, 1972, p. 69.

³ Ekman, *Slutstriden om representationsreformen*, 1966, p. 141f.

Scandinavian union

The historiography concentrating on political and diplomatic aspects dwells to some extent on the idea of a Scandinavian union. In the beginning of the twentieth century, the Swedish historian Carl Hallendorff studied the relationship between Swedish king and government on the issues of Scandinavianism and the German-Danish conflict. Hallendorff stressed that King Charles XV had, more or less, promised the Danish king that there would be Swedish troops supporting Denmark in its conflict with the German Confederation, which became acute in 1863.

In the 1940s, Åke Holmberg discussed the development of the nineteenth century Scandinavian movement in his dissertation *Skandinavismen i Sverige*. Holmberg also stresses the important part that the Swedish king, Charles XV, played in the construction of propaganda in favour of a Scandinavian union. In the same decade, the Danish historian Erik Möller analyzed the Scandinavian movement and its involvement in Swedish politics in the 1860s. The German-Danish conflict lay at the centre of this study, which focused on the interactions of the Scandinavian movement and its supporters among king and cabinet ministers.⁴

In the 1970s, the Swedish historian Erik Gullberg discussed the Scandinavian question between 1856 and 1871 in its relation to the politics of the German Confederation in the conflicts with Denmark. Gullberg argued that, already in the 1850s, it was the aim of king Oscar I to realize a Scandinavian union, a strategy that his son Charles XV inherited and on which he further elaborated in the following decade.⁵

Furthermore, Gullberg investigated which strategies about the Danish-German conflict in the 1860s the Scandinavian movement thought would lead to the goal of union. From the side of the German confederation, it was believed that the Bernadottes of Sweden pursued, in general, a politics of expansion within Scandinavia. Sweden was supposed to be aiming at conquering the Danish islands in order to become the ruling force in the coming national union. Such Scandinavianism would appear very pro-German because the German Confederation could then expect that the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein would come under German control in a system of national states.

⁴ Möller, E., *Skandinavisk stræben og svensk politik*, København, 1948.

⁵ Hallendorff, *Dagarna på Ulriksdal*, pp. 5ff; Holmberg, 1946, pp. 370ff.; Gullberg, 1972, p. 36f. Gullberg mentions how king Oscar I saw two possibilities for a Scandinavian union. Either Sweden could co-operate with the German national Schleswig-Holstein party, or it could instead co-operate with the Scandinavians in Sweden and Denmark. The latter option seemed to be the most favoured by the king.

The German view of Scandinavianism, however, did not really appeal to the liberal variant of Scandinavianism which wanted a federal union which the members would enter on more equal conditions. The Swedish liberals were not in favour of cooperation with the German Confederation, even for achieving a Swedish governed Scandinavian union. They resented Prussia's reactionary constitution and wanted to defend Denmark in the conflict over Schleswig-Holstein.⁶ In the eyes of the liberals, a Scandinavian union had to defend inherited territory. In this sense, there was a possibility for cooperation between the national liberals and a Swedish monarch who propagated an alliance with Denmark in defense of the duchies.

As for the activities of Charles XV, he met with the Danish king, Fredrik VII, in 1860 to discuss possibilities of a military alliance between the two brother countries. The Danish king was eager to secure such an alliance. However, his prime minister (konseljpresident), Hall, considered the question as too delicate for rapid decision and in need of further investigation and discussion with the Swedish king and his ministers. The Swedish minister of Foreign Affairs, Manderström, also interpreted the question of military alliance as a matter to be settled among cabinet ministers.

The rumours of military alliance between the two monarchies gave new life to pro-Scandinavian groups in Sweden and Denmark. The pro-Scandinavians saw before them the possible future of a "dynastic federation". Manderström was therefore worried about the general political situation because he considered contacts between King Charles XV and the Scandinavian movement as dangerous. The king continued to be in contact with the Danish ultra-Scandinavian group and to spread "silly" pro-Scandinavian propaganda in favour of an alliance. In the end, the Swedish ministers pressured the king to back off from his promise of a military alliance.⁷ The king did not, however, refrain from further pro-Scandinavian efforts.

In 1861, Charles XV met with Napoleon III in Paris to discuss possibilities of a future Scandinavian union. Napoleon III was said to have advised Charles XV to present the proposal for parliamentary reform at such a moment that its popularity could cause public opinion to be positive also towards Scandinavian union.⁸ The combination of reform with

⁶ Gullberg, 1972, pp. 30-33, 45-46.

⁷ Holmberg, 1946, pp. 370f; Möller, 1948, pp. 116f, 122f. This decision led to the resignation of minister Henning Hamilton, who was a very close advisor to the king. The reason for his dismissal has been thoroughly discussed by Holmberg and Möller. The conclusion of Möller is that Hamilton resigned because he did not want to take part in another coercion of the king. The year before, the Swedish Riksdag had forced king Charles XV to take back his promise to Norway, giving the Norwegians the right to choose their own governor (ståthållare).

⁸ Gullberg, 1972, p. 68; Holmberg, 1946, pp. 370ff. See further Hallendorff, 1914, p. 155, who says that Charles XV considered the friendship with Napoleon III very important for developing ideas of a future Scandinavian union. However, Hallendorff refers to voices who claimed that king Charles XV was fooled by the French emperor into believing that the latter had a great interest in an all-Nordic union. As a result, Charles XV has been described as having put too much trust in the words of Napoleon III, not really having understood the true meaning of their discussions in Paris.

union was to become a leading principle in the politics of Charles XV in the following years. The ideal moment for the Scandinavian movement would be in connection with the break out of national revolutionary movements all around Europe. However, such ideas turned out to be quite utopian.⁹

The historiographical debate, certainly, discusses the movement for combining reform and union, as well as the foreign political preconditions which were needed for a union to succeed. This in research claims that resistance from the Swedish cabinet was too strong for the king and the radical liberals. For the cabinet ministers, parliamentary reform was the important mission for which they wanted, and succeeded, to mobilize national opinion.¹⁰ They did not, however, want a Scandinavian union.

The *realpolitik* pursued by the Swedish cabinet in the 1860s was different from imperialistic dreams of a new great Scandinavian power. Charles XV, however, tried once again to go behind the backs of his ministers when he promised to enter a defensive alliance with Denmark in preparation for the conflict with Germany in 1863. The Danish proposal for defensive alliance meant that Sweden-Norway should help Denmark to defend its non-German provinces against Prussian aggression. The idea was that 20.000 Swedish soldiers should be sent to Denmark in order to enter the conflict on the Danish side.¹¹

The cabinet of ministers, with Prime Minister De Geer and the minister of finance, Gripenstedt, at its head, strongly opposed such plans. The matter of a defensive alliance was further discussed at the Ulriksdal conference in September 1863, where the government and the king united on a strategy that Sweden should not intervene in the Danish-German conflict unless they had the support of France or Great Britain. Although this was unlikely to happen, Denmark still felt very optimistic about coming Swedish military support.¹²

The western great powers were, however, unwilling to see an escalation of the conflict. At the end of 1863, Prussia occupied Holstein, and in 1864 it crossed the Ejder line, without provoking great power support for Swedish intervention. A peace was settled in Vienna, forcing Denmark to give up Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg to Prussia and Austria.¹³

⁹ Holmberg, 1946, pp. 370ff, 403ff.

¹⁰ Hallendorff, 1914, pp. 129ff.

¹¹ Gullberg, 1972, p. 83 ; Taylor, A.J.P, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe 1848-1918*, Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 146-154.

¹² Ulriksdal is a royal castle outside Stockholm. J.A Gripenstedt was the minister of finance and Louis De Geer was prime minister. Here it should also be mentioned that Swedish military defences were in a precarious condition and in the end it became obvious that Sweden would hardly be able to defend its own borders. Thus it would not be able to send 20 000 men, as the king had promised, to Denmark. See Lundh, H.L., *Skandinavismen i Sverige*, 1951, p. 57.

¹³ Carlsson-Rosén, 1961, p. 329f; Holmberg, 1946, p. 366.

In this context, Holmberg and Gullberg described Swedish foreign minister Manderström as being in favour of helping the Danes by means of a positive attitude before the war, for the sake of avoiding an armed conflict, but as being contrary to any further involvement in the German-Danish conflict when it became open war. Manderström feared, in addition, that the agitation of the Scandinavian movement in Denmark and Sweden could arouse Swedish public opinion in favour not only of war but also of Scandinavian union.¹⁴ Not only the war in itself frightened Manderström but also its effects on domestic politics.

The conflict between the king and his cabinet became evident in 1864, when Denmark wanted Sweden to enter a defensive military alliance against attack by the armies of the German Confederation. The Danish proposal was that Sweden-Norway should give Denmark a helping hand to defend the „non-German provinces“ i.e. all Danish-speaking territory.¹⁵ The idea that Sweden should support the Danish Ejderline policy seemed, however, utopian from the cabinet's point of view. The only possibility for such a policy would have been a change of the cabinet.¹⁶

Erik Möller has, convincingly, stressed how De Geer and Manderström in 1864 hoped that the king would abandon his political line in favour of Scandinavian union. It was generally assumed that the king, at least, would understand the impossibility of pro-union politics when he failed to find enough of potential ministers to support such a policy. The king never attempted a cabinet change. The cabinet remained in office until after the parliamentary reform in 1865.¹⁷

Previous research has described Swedish foreign politics under Charles XV and Henning Hamilton (his ambassador in Copenhagen in those years) as fantastical and without reasonable foundation. After many attempts at spreading convincing pro-union propaganda, the plans for Scandinavian union that King Charles XV and the group of ardent radicals in Stockholm had wished for were destroyed. The political reality was that of a Swedish cabinet wanting a parliamentary reform but not a union that could force Sweden into wars with great

¹⁴ Holmberg, 1946, p. 366; 371ff.; Gullberg, 1972, p. 92f.; Krusius-Ahrenborg, L., "Skandinavismens inställning, till den slesvig-holsteinska frågan och Rysslands hållning till bägge vid det dansk-tyska krigets utbrott", *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland*, 1942, p. 19f, who also argued that Manderström considered it essential that at least one great power gave its support to Denmark. Otherwise, Sweden would not be able to promise military support in case of war.

¹⁵ Holmberg, 1946; Gullberg, 1972, pp. 90-100.

¹⁶ Hallendorff, *Dagarna på Ulriksdal*, pp. 5ff; Furthermore, Hallendorff stresses the opinion that the king continued to dream of becoming the leading monarch of a Scandinavian union, without realizing that the financial and military resources for such a project were too small. The king only had real support for a union from some personal friends (H. Hamilton), from student societies and from radical liberals within the Scandinavian group. The general point of view of most historians has been that Charles XV was a dreamer who wanted to satisfy his personal aim of becoming a monarch of a great power, thus also unifying the Scandinavian peninsula.; Holmberg, 1946, p. 370ff.

¹⁷ Gullberg, 1972, p. 82f; Möller, 1948, pp. 115-125.

powers such as Prussia and Russia.¹⁸ In his studies, Möller often returns to the fact that parliamentary reform was a basic goal for the Swedish government. Scandinavian union, on the other hand, became a delicate question which could disturb domestic peace.¹⁹

Another aspect of the 1864 debate on military alliance between Sweden and Denmark, according to Mats Hellstenius, was that the military elite in Sweden was very critical towards active intervention in the Danish-German war. Military officers accused the Scandinavian liberal movement for spreading dangerous propaganda of an active war policy. They were convinced that the German Confederation would win the war, as the Danish army was thought to be in bad shape. The military elite made it clear that it was therefore against military intervention in the Schleswig-Holstein conflict because the risks were too high. It argued that Sweden ought to have learned that its military capacity was too weak for war against a great European power. At the same time, the military expressed a need to modernizing Swedish warfare in case the real enemy, Russia, should attack.²⁰ Intervention in the Danish-German conflict could only end up in being on the loser's side, and Scandinavian union would inevitably lead to counter-action from the mighty Russia.

The wave of pro-union propaganda that the Scandinavian movement managed to arouse was, however, still beneficial for the coming deliberation on parliamentary reform. Many liberal pro-union agitators were also very much in favour of parliamentary reform, and this makes it sometimes difficult to separate the argumentation of the two questions.

Radical liberal groups in Sweden in the 1860s were agitators for reform and union. The historian Stig Ekman has discussed the fact that August Blanche, August Sohlman, Gustaf Lallerstedt and other radicals equated the liberation movements in Europe with the question of parliamentary reform. Therefore, both movements, for reform and union, were considered struggles for democracy. Furthermore, Lallerstedt and Blanche wanted to use the newly founded sharpshooter movement in their struggle for parliamentary reform, thus hoping that this democratized troop would act as protection against foreign as well as domestic oppression.²¹

¹⁸ Carlsson-Rosén, 1961, p. 329f; Eimer, 1978, p. 417f; Furlani, 1976, p. 291; Hallendorff, 1914, p. 132ff; Holmberg, 1946, p. 370ff; Postén, 1982, p. 227f; Sandström, Åke, "Sverige 1809-1864" in *Det nya Norden efter Napoleon*, red. Max Engman and Åke Sandström, printed reports for the 25th Nordic Historical Meeting, 2004, p. 145, <http://historia.su.se/historikermotet/rapporter.htm>. According to H.L. Lundh, Charles XV did not pursue an open Scandinavian policy aiming towards a union as Oscar I had done. Charles XV set on a policy of a military alliance between Sweden-Norway and Denmark very strongly. Then the question could be asked whether there was a great difference since a military alliance with Denmark in a sense would become a sort of a union. See Lundh, H.L., *Skandinavismen i Sverige*, Stockholm, 1951, pp. 54f.

¹⁹ Möller, 1948, pp. 387f; Hellstenius, 2000, pp. 143f.

²⁰ Hellstenius, 2000, pp. 169f.

Parliamentary Reform

Research on parliamentary reform has been considerable during the last century. Here, therefore, I consider it appropriate not to go deep into all the particularities about the reform proposals but only to try to give a general description of its progress during the 1860s.

It has been argued that Prime Minister De Geer desired, in general, to put parliament in the hands of the “middle classes”. This strategy was valid for the construction of both an upper and a lower chamber in his model of a two-chamber parliament. However, as regards the future senate, he meant only that the middle classes elect this upper chamber and not actually be elected to that chamber themselves. It would be important for the stability for an upper chamber to have legitimacy from the middle classes, but the representatives were to belong to the more privileged groups within society.²² The final criteria settled in 1865 for the upper chamber required a wealth qualification that few social groups possessed.²³

The Finnish political scientist, Jussi Kurunmäki, stresses that parliamentary reform was not intended to bring about a radical change of the constitution. Conversely, indeed the cabinet aimed at modernizing the existing constitution by replacing the Estates with a two-chamber structure that would yet remain within a basic conservative constitutional pattern. Even though power was supposed to rest on the middle classes, De Geer never aimed at giving political rights to the masses. He was, however, in no way representative of only conservative interests in hesitating before mass enfranchisement. Even the more radical pro-reform groups are considered to have been reluctant to concede ideas of parliamentarism and universal suffrage.²⁴

Kurunmäki notes that the general opinion among earlier historians has been that there was a common understanding between the government and the conservative opposition. They both agreed on census criteria restricting the vote to the middle classes. The voting restrictions (*rösträttsstrecket*) for the lower chamber did not allow access for the “dangerous” lower working classes.²⁵ Parliamentary reform, therefore, meant a change from a political system built on privilege to a system built on economic criteria. It should, theoretically, thus be possible for every diligent citizen to reach such the income qualification for voting or to be

²¹ Ekman, 1966, p. 51f, 57.

²² Nilsson, „Den samhällsbevarande representationsreformen“, *Scandia*, 1969, p. 202.

²³ Nilsson, 1969, pp. 245ff, 252f.

²⁴ Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 228f.; Andersson, 2003, a., pp. 81-83; Norborg, 1993, pp. 86-88.

²⁵ Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 228f.

elected to the two chambers. This was important in the age of liberalism. On those premises, De Geer could, in the end, draw on support also from more radical liberals.²⁶

De Geer was a practical and dynamic leader who sought to get the work done. He had to be flexible in his attitude if he were to construct a proposal that would unify the government and be ratified by the *Riksdag*. The constitution demanded that all four of the traditional estates must agree on a reform. De Geer therefore acted as a “consultant” who was prepared to make concessions in order to gain practical results. Thus, according to some Swedish historians, De Geer’s performance in relation to the reform project was not that of a great leader and manager, but rather that of a “servant” of circumstance. He had to make many concessions to different political fractions, mainly conservative, which were reluctant to reform. As a consequence, his political activities in the reform question have been described as rather “colourless” and not very “politically liberal”.²⁷

Recent research dwells on the issue of the political rhetoric of parliamentary reform in Sweden in 1865, by focusing on the making of “national representation” in the debates leading up to reform. Kurunmäki especially seeks to demonstrate the importance of particular concepts such as “representation”, “nation”, “fatherland” and “patriotism” which combined in the political reform debate in order to underline that the time was ripe for constitutional change. The linguistic creation of national representation should, among other things, be understood as a strategy for stressing the urgency of a decision that would extend political rights to the people. The national liberals in Sweden often used this language from the general tradition of political radicalism in Europe, which mostly had its origins in the French Revolution.

However, radicalism in Sweden was seldom combined with a political traditionalism that constantly emphasized the strong historical bond between king and people. This combination of radicalism and traditionalism sought to render liberal rhetoric convincing for the people in general, also for more conservative opponents to parliamentary reform.²⁸ Kurunmäki arrives, therefore, at the conclusion that there were two different understandings of the concept of “national representation” within the reform debate.

On the one hand, national representation alluded to the contemporary constitution, in which the Estates were traditionally included in the concept. The Estates were part of political

²⁶ Norborg, 1993; *A Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century World History*, edited by John Belchem and Richard Price, 1994, pp. 341f., (Liberalism).; Nilsson, 1997, pp. 207-209.

²⁷ Nilsson, 1969, p. 255. The general verdict on De Geer was for a long time the „precursor of the bourgeois epoch“ and his way of thinking was described as moderately liberal. However, it was De Geer himself who created such a picture of his political deeds in his memoirs, then perpetuated by several historians.

²⁸ Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 221f.

tradition, for both pro- and anti-reform politicians. Thus reference to the concept of national representation, concomitantly, need not inevitably carry any clear radical intention or aim. On the other hand, there were national liberals who made a clear distinction between representation by means of the Estates and a national representation on a liberal foundation. In that variant, the concept of national representation acquired a more progressive significance, as representation based on other criteria than privilege. For the radical national liberals, the construction of a reformed national representation was termed "a political rebirth of the nation" which would promise a better future for the people.²⁹

The concepts of nation and representation were important, as well as the aspects of time when common traditions were used in order to legitimize a present need of political change for the future. Though the Estates were, in the end, eliminated, there was no significant change in the social foundation of parliamentary power because parliamentary representatives within and their electors, were not much different from before. There was some extension of the right to vote, but the reform produced rather a redistribution of positions within the existing constitution. The decision could, however, also be interpreted as, if certainly moderate, a first step towards more future democratization and parliamentarization than was possible at that moment.³⁰

²⁹ Kurunmäki, 2000, p. 221.

³⁰ Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 228f.

III. Rituals and Language

Rituals and language are the core concepts of this thesis, and the interaction between them will be important for understanding them as instruments for making politics. However, the field of research of rituals and language is vast; therefore this chapter will only highlight certain areas that I consider most important for this study. The first section of the chapter concentrates on the definition of concepts used in the forthcoming analysis. The second deals with the new cultural traditions that emanated from the French Revolution. The third section discusses the origin and different patterns of civic rites of the Old Regime as well as the post-revolutionary society. The fourth section focuses on dramatic aspects within political rituals as a way of capturing the minds of the people. Finally, the fifth section looks at aspects of nationalism and its ways of creating a mythic story of origin.

Definitions

Rituals make us think of a religious experience that normally takes place in a church. It can be defined as a „series of actions that are always carried out in the same way, especially as part of a religious ceremony“ (religious as well as pagan rituals). In a second meaning, ritual is defined as „something that is done regularly [...] in the same way“.¹ The concept of a rite is defined in much the same way, but can also have the meaning of „a social custom, practice, or any conventional act“.² Both the terms ritual and rite may be defined, according to Edward Muir, as an action, or gesture, that is repeated in everyday life at a special time and place in order to arouse emotions from the participants and spectators. The emotive effect that ritual has makes it powerful and therefore, over the centuries, „religious and political authorities“ have been struggling to „create them, manipulate them, embellish them, regulate them, even abolish them, without ever quite succeeding“.³ Ritual, or rites, can thus be considered as repetitive events, a habit, that develops a formal pattern of performance. This standardized structure makes a solid base and the symbolic content can then vary, depending upon the participants, the society and its context.

¹ www1.oup.co.uk/elt/oald

² *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*, Oxford University Press, 1998.

³ Muir, E., *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 2f. Furthermore, rituals can be understood by making a distinction between „models“ and „mirrors“. The model can be a standard pattern to follow in society, while mirrors can be a way to visualize a world, an identity or a group through ritual in a public space.

The "public" can be defined as being "connected with ordinary people in society in general" and a public place where "a lot of people" can go to "see and hear you".⁴ Therefore, "public" can be understood in the terms of the public realm, which has been defined as "the place where citizens surrender their private concerns and come together as equals to deliberate about the common good". In Greek society it was, however, a place where elite male citizens gathered to discuss the common good. Furthermore, Habermas has defined the public sphere as a "realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body."⁵

The concept of "public opinion" is central for this study as the analysis aims to investigate the development and functioning of public opinion in the 1860s. Public opinion in that period can be considered to have been a restricted group of petite bourgeois and upper class liberal readers. However, in ritual and press it reached other layers in society and thus included some groups of workers and other lower class citizens. Public opinion aimed at embracing the entirety of society, but in reality that was not the case. In this context, Habermas has stressed that public opinion in eighteenth century Europe was of an "elite where the working classes had no part".⁶

Many people in towns, as well as in the countryside, probably did not know, or care, about rituals aiming at arousing public opinion. Still, a large part of the Swedish population was affected by the political messages which were spread by means of rituals and the liberal press. A large part of the population was probably drawn into the agitation movement by being a member of one, or more, voluntary associations. Therefore the term "popular" also enters this analysis as it stands for something that appeals to the „ordinary“ people, the people in general. The parliamentary reform- and Scandinavian movements tried to appeal to a wider range of people by constructing a channel of symbolic language that was easy for everybody to understand. Political movements often use the term „public opinion“ as a sort of mantra in their campaigns. They claim that they are speaking on the behalf of the general public.

⁴ www1.oup.co.uk/elt/oald/Web_lookup_options2.pl?search_word=public&select=all_options

⁵ Habermas, J., *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Berger, Cambridge, 1989.

⁶ Chisick, H., „Public Opinion and Political Culture in France during the Second Half of the 18th Century“, in *English Historical Review*, 470, vol. 117., February, 2002, p. 52.

Civic Rites

From Old Regime to French Revolution

Civic rites and festivities have in general, for centuries past, been part of urban culture, as a way for people to create a space where they could manifest and confirm a common, urban, identity. This we notice, for example, already in Florence in the Renaissance when people from the different *quartieri* went in processions through the streets in order to express a common identity by presenting the various guilds to which they belonged. In that period Florence was also well known for the festive culture organized by the Medici family as a way to emphasize its political importance.⁷

The use of “ceremonial, propaganda, and image making” was, furthermore, essential for many European absolute monarchies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in order to emphasize and strengthen their political control. It was also a way to legitimize images of absolute monarchic rulers, as being chosen by God and therefore having divine power.⁸ Here, Spain in the early seventeenth century, under the rule of Philip IV, can be taken as an example of how the relationship between “power and ideology” was important for extending political power. The intention was to change the image of the king both in the political and in the cultural fields. Later in the seventeenth century, these ideas of image fabrication would be further developed in France during the rule of Louis XIV.⁹

To participate in civic rites and festivities can, firstly, be considered a way for people to feel and create a common identity within, mainly, urban society. However, secondly, it can also be seen as a vehicle for people to act and make their voices heard as political opinion. In this context, I rely mainly upon research made by Lynn Hunt, Mona Ozouf and Matthew Truesdell who have investigated the political culture of the French Revolution.¹⁰ Through a symbolic language of processions, festivals and other rites it is possible to express an opinion about society on a local, or national, level. This implies an assumption that the actors creating political rites have a certain aim, that is a specific message to transmit, and that the spectators by watching and participating will read that message behind the symbols and understand its

⁷ Zorzi, L., *Il teatro e la città*, Einaudi, 1977.

⁸ See Elliott, J.H., „Power and Propaganda in Spain of Philip IV“, p. 147, in *Rites of Power. Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics Since the Middle Ages*, ed. by Sean Wilentz, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.

⁹ Elliott, 1985, p. 157f, 171. The minister of state in that period, the count-duke of Olivares, adopted the task to enhance „the power and authority“ of Philip IV on a domestic as well as on an international level. The Spanish king was to be presented as the working king and the king of arts among others, in brief as „the greatest monarch in the world“. See Burke, P., *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, Yale University Press, 1992, p. 5f.

¹⁰ During the French Revolution, the revolutionaries used the festivals to transform the people from „passive subjects into citizens“ who would be able to build a new society with a new model of politics. See Truesdell, 1997, p. 5.

importance. The rites will thus have to be considered political symbolism. In this context, Catherine Bell stresses that she considers political rites important in order to construct and define power. By means of rituals, groups or individuals who are striving for power, interests and goals can be communicated to a contemporary and about future society.¹¹

This point of view stands in contrast to a third line of research which considers urban processions and parades as a non-political activity following a routinized pattern. From this point of view, the participants in, for example, a parade, are marching through the streets for the sake of marching. In this field, the American historian Mary Ryan has made a significant contribution by investigating parades in nineteenth century America.¹²

The second alternative seems most useful in this thesis as there were certain beliefs and political ideas hidden behind the formal performance of rites and festivities in the post-revolutionary era in Europe. However, also during the Old Regime, rituals were highly political. The messages were often controlled or imposed by the absolutist monarchy in order to emphasize and legitimate its power and popularity.

Nonetheless, parades and processions took place in cities under the Old Regime also as a way for guilds to display them within the urban context. Such parades were often organized in connection with holidays and other specific occasions.¹³ One example is Malmö in eighteenth century Sweden, where craftsmen were important as participants in and organizers of civic rituals. The frequency of rituals was normally very limited, not more than twice a year in connection with specific holidays but when King Gustavus III visited the town in the late eighteenth century, an additional celebration was organized to welcome him. Furthermore, organizing dinners, balls, light shows, displays, gun salutes and fireworks

¹¹ By political symbolism I mean that rituals were part of the use of cultural aspects for expressing political ideas and thoughts about society. See www1.oup.co.uk/elt/oald/bin/oald2.pl, for the oxford dictionary definition of symbolism (=the use of symbols to represent ideas, especially in art and literature); Bell, C., *Ritual, Perspectives and Dimensions*, Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 129.

¹² Firstly, we have the option of considering rites as formal and thoughtless actions that have developed a habitual pattern. Secondly, rites can be viewed as merely functional, i.e. they have the aim to integrate certain beliefs and ideas. Thirdly, rituals can be seen as a way to affirm belonging to a communal unity which would stand in contrast to the „constraints[...] of social life“. See Bell, 1997, p. 7. For example, Mary Ryan describes the American 19th century parade as being without any specific aim, and without any plot. „The American parade seemed to be a march for the sake of marching, as well as for the display of the ordinary citizens who marched“. See Ryan, M., „The American Parade: Representations of the 19th century Social Structure“, in *The New Cultural History*, ed. by Lynn Hunt, University of California Press, 1989, p. 134; Tacke, Charlotte, „National Symbols in France and Germany in the 19th century“, in *Regional and National Identities in Europe in the XIXth and XXth centuries*, eds. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, Michael G. Müller and Stuart Woolf, EUI, 1998, pp. 428f.

¹³ Muir, 1997, pp. 228-261.

confirms the pre-Revolutionary origin of the post-Revolutionary cultural pattern for organizing political rituals.¹⁴

The lower classes also possessed alternative channels for expressing discontent and protest against local, or state, authorities. The annual carnival was such an occasion.¹⁵ Hence, it should be recognized that rites can transmit powerful political messages through the symbols and metaphors that are created and adopted. In accordance with this, David Kertzer says that "(c)reating a symbol or, more commonly, identifying oneself with a popular symbol can be a potent means of gaining and keeping power, for the hallmark of power is the construction of reality."¹⁶

Urban parades, processions and other rites seem to have become more frequent during the nineteenth century. To march through the streets of a town was part of common civic experience. The messages hidden behind a traditional civic festive culture expressed a common urban identity or emphasized political aims regarding local or national society. Furthermore, parades and processions often had gender aspects. Civic rites in nineteenth century English industrial towns are considered to have been specifically a male phenomenon and therefore women had a more passive role as spectators or organizers of more private gatherings. In the radical public meetings and demonstrations that flourished in England after the Napoleonic Wars, the participation of women was, however, common. They were able, for example, to vote in political meetings, form associations and organize their own meetings.¹⁷ In late eighteenth and nineteenth century America, public civic rites and festivities were a space where women, African Americans and poor white men could make their voices heard. It was their way of being able to participate in politics, even though at the popular and informal level.¹⁸

The formal shaping of civic rites can be seen to have remained largely intact over the centuries, but their symbolic meaning constantly changed, depending upon period and societal context. However, a key change in the late eighteenth century which, in one way, could be considered a result of the French Revolution. The existing traditional civic ritual practices

¹⁴ Edgren, L., „Craftsmen in the political and symbolic order: the case of eighteenth-century Malmö“, in *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500-1900*, edited by Geoffrey Crossick, Scholar Press, 1997, pp. 131-150.

¹⁵ Carnival was a period in February when the world turned „upside down“ and the people could mock the authorities. Carnivals have in general been considered a „safety valve“ through which the tensions gathering in a hierarchic society were liberated. See Muir, 1997, pp. 89f.

¹⁶ See Kertzer, D, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, Yale University Press, 1988, p. 5.

¹⁷ Gunn, *The public culture of the Victorian middle class ritual and authority and the English industrial city, 1840-1914*, Manchester University Press 2000, p. 169f. Regarding the participation of women in radical political meetings, James Epstein says that the fact that women took part in „the formal politics of radicalism“ was a new thing around 1820. Epstein, J., *Radical Expression, Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850*, Oxford, 1994, p. 86f.

¹⁸ Newman, 1997, p. 6.

such as festivals, processions and demonstrations developed a certain routinized pattern which was used for national purposes. The formal pattern of processions, displaying of flags, bell-ringing, gun-salutes, decorations, dinners and toasts were old modes being re-animated for a novel purpose. Eric Hobsbawm emphasizes that these patterns of celebration emanated from the baroque period and were also used, for example, in German choral, shooting and gymnastic festivities to unify religious and patriotic elements.¹⁹ The French Revolution changed the content of these traditions and made them into political tools of conviction for a republican society.

Post-Revolutionary Scandinavia

In the Scandinavian context, the Scandinavian Student Movement that started in Sweden and Denmark in the early 1830s should be considered a precursor in using revolutionary ideas in its ritual structure. Revolutionary attributes such as cockades and banners were frequently used by the student movement. Furthermore, the students often honoured king Charles XII in their festivities, which was to be understood as a critique against the contemporary authorities. A song dedicated to Charles XII functioned as a parallel to the Marseillaise sung by the people during the French Revolution. The texts of student songs were often critical against Scandinavian state governments while their formal construction, the melody of the songs, were part of a traditional and monarchic cultural pattern. Another important means was walking in processions, cheering and singing, which all were important in order to draw crowd attention.²⁰

The rituals for unveiling different monuments in Sweden in the nineteenth century indicate that there existed a common pattern for rituals, though the messages being transmitted might have varied. The ceremony surrounding the unveiling of a statue of Gustav Adolphus was one example. The festivities started early in the morning with gun salutes, followed by a procession of military units, the civil corps and the local burghers, who headed towards the main square. The royal family and other guests were present, as well as a large crowd of spectators. The ritual was accompanied by music and choirs. The festivities continued after the ritual with dinners and parties. Choral groups entertained in the streets and

¹⁹ Hobsbawm, 2000, p. 7. See also Rearick, C., *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque*, Yale University Press, 1985, p. 3. Vernon mentions how fireworks, light shows, and processions were recurrent practices in local celebrations in England during the 19th century. Vernon, 1993, p. 71, 78. Thus there existed a general European pattern for how to set up festivals, processions and celebrations.

²⁰ Nilsson, F., *I rörelse. Politisk handling under 1800-talets första hälft*, Nordic Academic Press, Lund, 2000, pp. 121f, pp. 125f.

fireworks were staged.²¹ One can, indeed, notice a great resemblance with the rituals for unveiling statues and planting liberty trees during the French Revolution.²² The revolutionary influence here should be understood in terms of stimulating the people to, if needed, organize or take part in politicized festivities in order to act out public opinion. The Old Regime was, of course, the structural basis for the revolutionary cultural pattern, but political use of that pattern as a tool of conviction was accentuated after 1789.

The Culture of the French Revolution

One can see the French Revolution as a watershed for political festive culture. This epochal event radically changed the frequency of such performances and the symbolic language of public rites and festivities. Recent studies have paved the way to a more political and cultural view of the Revolution, based on the writings of Alexis de Tocqueville rather than the Marxist and social approach dominant until the 1970s. This has led historians to investigate the „political dynamics“ of the Old Regime and the structures and practices of the Revolutionary reconstruction of old practises. Tocqueville, furthermore, described the French Revolution as a political upheaval that „acted like and began to look like a religious revolution“. The reason for this statement was, first, that the Revolution had „united or divided the people despite their laws, traditions, characters, and languages, turning [...] strangers into brothers; or rather, it established [...] a common intellectual homeland where men of all nations could become citizens.“²³ This pattern could previously be seen only in religious revolutions, but not really in any political revolution. Second, just like a religious revolution, the French spread by

²¹ Rodell, 2001, p. 57f. Rodell points to the fact that processions and other public events was important for presenting and for giving meaning to the past, the present and the future. His analysis lacks, however, considerable references to the nationalist tradition of political rituals.

²² Hunt, 1984, pp. 57-61

²³ Furet, François and Mélonio, Françoise, eds. *The Old Regime and the Revolution*, by De Tocqueville, A., vol.I, transl. by Alan S. Kahan, University of Chicago Press, 2001, p. 99.

means of „preaching and propaganda“in order to convince people at home as well as abroad of the need for revolutionary and republican change.²⁴

Maurice Agulhon has discussed the inability of the revolutionaries to change traditional mentalities and cultures: therefore, they had to reshape existing structures.²⁵ In this context, Keith Michael Baker says that the „conceptual space in which the French Revolution was invented, the structure of meanings in relationship to which the quite [sic] disparate actions of 1789 took on a symbolic coherence and political force, was the creation of the Old Regime.“²⁶ The invention of a new political culture and of a political language was thus built on the structures and habits of the old order but its articulation and content were new. People participating in rituals and contributing to the spreading of new political messages, felt that they were creating a new and different society.²⁷

Another aspect of French revolutionary society was that language became a crucially important tool of power. Political actors were constantly trying to “fix public meanings“.²⁸ This was a consequence of the collapse of the monarchic state, causing French society to find itself liberated from the power of authoritarian rule. It tried to reconstitute itself by denying the past and inventing a new social structure that would make the people into free citizens without a dominant state power.²⁹ Here, I will make a parallell with the reform debate in Sweden in the 1860s, where reformers also used concepts such as “nation“and “fatherland“as linguistic tools. This was done in order to convincingly legitimate that certain groups in society should have the right to take part in national political representation. The Swedish reformers in the 1860s, however, did not exactly deny the past. The past was an important touch-stone for the citizen, as he was supposed to be familiar with his origins in order to be able to understand the contemporary and future needs and prospects of the nation.³⁰

In order to reach out to a broader public with the necessary messages and make the people feel an important part of the new political society, there was a need for efficient informative channels. Newspapers played an important part in spreading information across Sweden, thus making people aware of being part of a larger political community, whether

²⁴ Furet, 2001, pp. 99f.

²⁵ Agulhon, M., „Politics, and Images in Post-Revolutionary France“, in *Rites of Power*, ed. by Sean Wilentz, 1985, pp. 188f.

²⁶ Baker, Keith, Michael., *Inventing the French Revolution*, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 1-5.

²⁷ Agulhon, 1985, pp. 188f. Agulhon mentions how the revolutionaries in 1789 could abolish the monarchy and execute the king, but that they could not get rid of the symbolic value of the two concepts. The statues of the king in public places were replaced by statues of the French Republic. See also Mason, L., *Singing the Revolution, Popular Culture and Politics, 1787-1799*, Cornell University Press, 1996, pp. 15f, 35. :Banti, 2000, pp. 7f.

²⁸ Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, p.?

²⁹ Baker, 1990, p. 7.

³⁰ Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 179, 181f.

they then took the initiative to participate in, or were merely a spectator at, a civic rite. Peasants and master artisans were, however, already part of their respective Estates and were therefore already active within the political system. The lower classes in society were not historically powerless because national politics included a mix of different voices that interacted on different levels.³¹ National liberals needed to respect historical traditions if they were to convince already privileged groups about reform.

It must once again be stressed that persons joining a procession or spectating at a political festival cannot be considered as inevitably having had clear political reasons for participating. There were certainly those who were very committed, but at the same time there were surely people who were disinterested in the civic rite and its political context. Therefore, it has to be taken into consideration that people had different motives for participating in political festivals and processions in Sweden in the 1860s. Nonetheless, by participating, a crowd of spectators could not avoid being influenced by the political symbolic language adopted in the different rites. Their presence became, if also involuntary, a political statement in a public arena.³²

The politicizing of everyday life could take place on different levels and in different contexts. To organize and participate in festivals, processions and other celebrations was one way, joining political clubs, societies and associations was another. Less formally, people sharing the same political beliefs frequented the same cafés and bookshops in order to read newspapers and discuss contemporary political events. Such social activity was important for the creation of a bourgeois „public sphere“ where the people, on equal terms, could participate in politics on a daily basis. This was current in nineteenth century France, Germany and England.³³ For Sweden, an example was the Artisans' association in Helsingborg, where the working class and lower bourgeoisie met in order to discuss local, as well as national, political questions. The Artisans' Association had been founded in 1862 with the general aim to unite its members so that together they could broaden their knowledge through discussion,

³¹ Newman, 1997, p. 7.

³² See De Baecque, A., *The Body Politic: corporeal metaphor in revolutionary France, 1770-1800*, Stanford University Press, 1997, p. 250f. Newman, 1997, p. 8. Simon Gunn says that civic ritual in industrial cities in 19th century England had many different „overlapping meanings“ that depended upon the context and the social position of the observer. Cf. Gunn, 2000, p. 169.

³³ Vernon, 1993, pp. 209-227.; Kroen, *Politics and Theater, The Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815-1830*, University of California Press, 2000, p. 169f. The town marketplace was in early 19th century France considered as a place where a lot of people gathered and exchanged local news. ; Hunt, 1984, p. 18f; Epstein, , 1994, p. 150.; Landes, J. B., *Women and the Public Sphere, in the Age of the French Revolution*, Cornell University Press, 1988, pp. 41f, 117f.

readings, lectures and so forth. The members were to come from all classes of society.³⁴ The association also organized meetings with invited speakers, outings, and concerts.

The political reality of Sweden in the 1860s did not have that much in common with France during the Revolution, but there were many similarities of festival culture and in the use of language in a political context. In the nineteenth century Swedes adopted a language and festive culture to express a common identity and common political demands. The celebrations and festivities of the Scandinavian movement began a general pattern for the organization of festivities which continued over the years to come.³⁵ Swedish festive culture was influenced by the revolutionary culture that had been dominant throughout Europe, and America, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During the Revolution, language was not only a means to reflect upon social „changes and realities“, but itself was „transformed into an instrument of political and social change“.³⁶

To consider language from a rhetorical point of view and, therefore, as a way to persuade a broader public by means of the power of words fits rather well in the context of political clubs and the festive culture. In political clubs people learned to understand and use rhetoric in making a speech, in reading a pamphlet or a newspaper, in writing poems and making flags. These skills were important also for understanding symbols in civic political festivities. Civic rites and festivities in Sweden followed a certain formal pattern all through the nineteenth century. I consider this pattern to have been influenced by European revolutionary culture but, still, we should bear in mind that festival culture in nineteenth century Sweden was based on a century long tradition. Sweden did not experience any bloodstained revolution. The Swedish state was still a monarchy with inherited cultural traditions, but the country was successively inspired and influenced by revolutionary culture on the continent.³⁷

³⁴ In her essay „Working-Class and Middle-Class Associations. An Anglo-German Comparison, 1820-1870“ in *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Jürgen Kocka and Allan Mitchell, Oxford, 1993, p. 153f., Christiane Eisenberg argues that since the *Bürger* in general were those having free time, education and property, their representatives were the ones dominating the *bürgerlicher* associations. In these associations, they tried to impose bourgeois values upon the lower classes in an exchange on unequal terms.

³⁵ The student-Scandinavian movement is considered to have started in 1829. At the ceremony for conferment of doctors' degrees in Lund in 1829, the poet Esaias Tegner placed a laurel wreath on the head of the Danish poet Oehlenschläger. Stating that the „Time of discord has passed“ (*Söndringens tid är förbi*). With this statement, he meant that the period of conflict between Sweden and Denmark lay behind. University students from Sweden, Denmark and Norway organized meetings in different university towns where they talked about the possibilities of a future union, ate, drank and sang together. Cf. Sandström, 2004, p. 143.; or see also <http://www.sub.su.se/national/t1800d.htm>

³⁶ Hunt, 1984, p. 24.

³⁷ In 1809, the kingdom of Sweden also lost Finland in the war against Russia which meant that Sweden lost its great power status.. See Norborg, L.-A., 1993, pp. 239ff.; Andersson, 2003, (a), pp. 15f.

The dramatic element

Festivals, processions, demonstrations and meetings are a kind of theatrical drama in which different identities and opinions can be expressed. Furthermore, in the framework of ritual performance people can act out and present certain meanings and roles which are important for defining their place within society. French revolutionary festive culture was a “symbolic arena” where political opinions and conflicts could be articulated without using concrete names and thus not offending politicians and political parties.³⁸ Its political festivals were constructed with reason and laughter as central concepts: with the help of “games and spectacles” it was easier to influence people and inform them about the importance of national morality and virtue.³⁹

The new revolutionary society gave actors access to the political sphere. Condemned and feared characters in absolutist Europe, actors became prominent figures with important positions in government and administration. In the revolutionary reality, politicians and actors worked together as civic equals, and this resulted in constant mixing of political and theatrical elements. Therefore, it became rather difficult, in the end, to distinguish the one concept from the other.⁴⁰

Ritual in industrial cities in nineteenth century England was an „emotional unity achieved through drama“. ⁴¹ These “social dramas” were used to display official politics. They contained “melodramatic dynamics” in order to draw the attention of the people and to encourage participation in formal and stylized civic political rites. The constant repetition of a formal and ritual pattern with stylised roles for the participants, and the recognition and reception of these patterns and roles, were important for the legitimization or contestation of

³⁸ Hunt, 1984, p. 55. The political element not only existed in a dramatic environment of rites and festivities, but was invested in a common daily routine of society.

³⁹ See De Baecque, 1997, pp. 249f, makes a parallel between revolutionary festivals, tournaments of chivalry and the week of joy during the middle ages. Matthew Truesdell mentions that spontaneously aroused sentiments attach themselves to the symbol that represents them. He takes, as an example, the symbols connected to the emotive concept of the First Empire in France. These conjured up strong emotions, giving the rites and festivities a kind of „emotional appeal“ which was difficult to extract from other channels of communication. See Truesdell, 1997, p. 8. Vernon compares political rites with theater, where light, sound and movement are combined in order to create a constructed, „extraordinary world“. Vernon, 1993, pp. 48f., 107.

⁴⁰ Friedland, P., *Political Actors: representative bodies and theatricality in the age of the French Revolution*, Cornell University Press, 2002, p. 168. Friedland mentions that various *salles* of the National Assembly were constructed as small theaters with boxes for spectators along the sides. In this way, it was assumed that deliberations should be attended by spectators who could confirm, or contest, the discussions.

⁴¹ Gunn, 2000, pp. 163-182.

power.⁴² Elaine Hadley underlines the fact that the staging of melodrama in Britain in the nineteenth century became important as a means to make public different opinions of consent or discontent regarding contemporary political issues. A melodramatic act could take place in a public space, such as a square or marketplace, but it could also take shape in a theater with a traditional performance by a society of actors.⁴³ The ways of expressing political and social opinions were theatrical, however, not the opinions in themselves. That people used public spaces and dramatic elements for expressing opinions on national politics was therefore nothing new. Rituals were not just artistic performances *per se*, but they often had a certain aim.⁴⁴

Hadley defines the term theatrical as the „visible, public, and performative quality of [...] physical interactions“and I find that definition to be useful for this thesis in investigating the public use of rituals and rhetoric in order to express public opinion in a political context.⁴⁵ A parallel can be drawn with the theatrical tradition of *commedia dell'arte*, in which comic plays were based on the repetition of a standard schedule, i.e. *canovaccio*. The characters of *commedia dell'arte* were always the same. It was by means of this standardized pattern that the actors could criticize contemporary monarchic society.⁴⁶ The spectators appropriated the essence of the symbolic meaning and in some sense confirmed the validity of its hidden messages.

⁴² Hunt, 1989, p. 53f. Gunn, 2000, pp. 163-182.

⁴³ Hadley, E., *Melodramatic Tactics. Theatricalized Dissent in the English Marketplace 1800-1885*, Stanford University Press, 1995, pp.9-10, 16f.

⁴⁴ See further Hindson, P and Gray, T., *Burke's Dramatic Theory of Politics*, Gower 1998, p. 28.; Christensen, J., *Practicing Enlightenment. Hume and the Formation of a Literary Career*. University of Wisconsin Press, 1987, p. 72.

⁴⁵ Hadley, 1995, p. 15.

⁴⁶ Tessari, *La drammaturgia da Eschilo a Goldoni*, 1993.

The nation and its mythic history

The French Revolution broke with and rejected the past which distinguished it from previous revolutionary movements. Therefore, the mythic creation of its own present was of great importance. However, French revolutionary society had a need of a past, of a history, and thus looked to ancient Greek and Roman history for models for the new “ideal” Republic that was being created for the future.⁴⁷ In connection with this revolutionary myth seeking, there occurred a change in “the old hierarchical structures of power” which paved the way for new nineteenth century kinds of strategies for maintaining social equilibrium. An important strategy was that which Eric Hobsbawm calls the “invention of tradition”. In order to legitimate the existence of a united nation before the masses, politicians tried to establish continuity between a suitable past and the present by using emotionally powerful symbols from that chosen past.⁴⁸

In constructing a historical continuity it was intended to legitimate the nation and its national identity. The nationalist groups in various countries thus invented, or imagined, the nation “by representing it to the majority through a variety of cultural media and social rituals”. Such invented nations were not straight forward falsifications. The stories were passed on by means of people’s memories, a sort of collective memory. They changed, therefore, over the years. A collective memory was the foundation for the construction of national histories because shared memories and myths have a considerable force upon people.⁴⁹ To a certain extent, we can talk about fabrication or falsification of the past, but the essence of invented nations was the desire to create something that would make a people feel that it had a common history and a common identity: nationalist groupings created and imagined a common history in order to make their political propaganda successful.

National myths have generally been considered to have the task of legitimating the rights and interests of different ethnic groups or „particular strata“ within them. An ethnic

⁴⁷ Hunt, 1984, pp. 27-31. Matthew Truesdell says that rites have different a impact on the people and different meanings depending on historical period and societal context. The performance and the symbols can be the same, but the meaning changes as spectators and participants change. Furthermore, Truesdell claims that every regime in the French history since 1789 has had its heroes. Therefore the revolutionaries looked to the Romans, to Rousseau and to their own martyrs in order to legitimate the present and reconstruct a suitable history. See Truesdell, 1997, pp. 4, 73f.

⁴⁸ *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, Cambridge University Press, 2000 (reprint), pp. 1f.; Truesdell, 1997, p. 77. Hobsbawm defines the term tradition as a „set of practices that are of ritual or symbolic nature and seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, automatically implying continuity with the past“.

⁴⁹ Smith, A.D., *The Nation in History*, University Press of New England, 2000, p. 53. The new thing about myth making in the 19th century was that „a revolutionary element“ was added in order to make nationalism a vehicle for „rapid social change“. See Smith, A.D., *Myth and Memories of the Nation*, Oxford Univ Press, 1999, p. 62.; Ringrose, M., *Reimagining the Nation*, 1993, p. 9.; Hosking, G.-Schöpfung, G., *Myths and Nationhood*, London, 1997, pp. 36f.; Banti, 2000, p. 150.

group had to have a “myth of descent” in order to be recognized by its competitors within a country, and by other nations. From the eighteenth century onwards ethnic groups and communities, through their nationalist spokesmen, made use of their historical past in order to claim their right of independence. The nationalist spokesmen of ethnic groups therefore constructed myths of origin out of an existing or imagined past. These myths functioned as sources for inspiration for artists and authors who confirmed the existence of a national golden age. Often old epics and sagas and their heroic figures were re-animated in order to make the stories more convincing to the broader public.⁵⁰

David Carr stresses that such stories needed to be shared by “the members of the group” that it was supposed to represent. A story was told by a spokesman, and the aim was to represent an entire group or a community as such; the *we*. Such a story had, however, to be received and accepted by the members of the group in question. “Rival”, stories, therefore, competed in the search for a convincing myth of identity and origin.⁵¹

Nationalist myth making can be seen to have been valid mostly in Central Europe, where smaller ethnic groups were struggling for their independence within larger nation-states or monarchic empires. However, Norway was an example among the Scandinavian countries. In my empirical corpus Norwegians often referred to the golden age of their country. This golden age was before the Kalmar union in 1397, when Norway was still an independent country and not a region ruled by the Danish monarchy or subordinated in a union with Sweden. In the 1860s emphasis on this mythic past provided a way for Norway to claim independence and recognition of their 1814 constitution.

Parallels can also be drawn with Sweden in the 1860s. Past events and heroic figures (Poltava, Engelbrekt) functioned as models for change and reform in the contemporary political context. These historical events and heroic personalities had remained powerful memories, and they could therefore be instrumentalized for expressing certain political and social values and desires. They were used as building bricks in the construction of an ideal future in which the old would be replaced by something new. Old Swedish kings or popular heroes were described as warriors who had struggled against injustices and oppressors. These characteristics made them valuable for contemporary actors who wanted to stage their own campaigns.

⁵⁰ Smith, 1999, p. 61. Smith mentions that myths emerge in periods of cultural clashes and socioeconomic change. He makes a distinction between, on the one hand, ideological myths that trace descent to ancestors and earlier historic periods through cultural and ideological affinity and, on the other hand, genealogical myths that draw more strictly on links of alleged kinship. See Smith, 1999, pp. 71, 82f.

⁵¹ Carr, David, *Time, narrative and history*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991, pp. 155-159.

Collective memories too were a part of a cultural heritage learned from books and storytelling. Another source for such memories was knowledge acquired from elementary school, which from 1842 was compulsory for all Swedish children.⁵² Memories of a distant past differ from memories recalling more contemporary events that are remembered as experienced time. David Carr uses the concepts of retention and recollection for analyzing this difference. Retention is the memory of the “just-passed” and it has direct contact with the present. On the other hand, recollection is something that you call to mind because it is an event that is „somewhere else in space“.⁵³

The mythical memory of the Swedish is to be considered recollection because it centred on events that were not immediately in contact with the present time. In Carr’s words, one could say that this collective memory was not experienced but recovered via the medium of language,⁵⁴ in that a collective memory is based on acts of communication. In this sense, memory becomes a connective point of reference that is shared by a large group and it shapes itself through language, which also makes the memory definable in concepts of time. It thus takes the form of a language of “social memory” which, by means of inter-relations and communications, finds its way into the personal memory of each individual.⁵⁵

⁵² Andersson, 2003, a., p. 40.; Norborg, 1993. The impact of compulsory elementary school was probably rather limited in the first decades after 1842 in areas that formerly lacked such institutions. However, in urban environments elementary schools, in general, existed before the introduction of nationwide compulsory schooling.

⁵³ Carr, 1991, pp. 21-22.

⁵⁴ Carr, 1991, pp. 22f.

⁵⁵ Jedlowski, P., „Il Testimone e l’eroe“, in *Il senso del passato*, ed. Paolo Jedlowski e Marita Rampazi, FrancoAngeli, 1991, p. 15.

IV. Voluntary Associations

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the shaping and functions of voluntary associations in Sweden were very much connected with the campaign for parliamentary reform. Different *bildungs* (self-improvement) clubs, workers' societies, sharpshooter associations etc. grew stronger in those years, and talked primarily about freedom and co-operation in society. Their goal was parliamentary reform.¹ In the beginning of the 1860s, the liberal press, and particularly August Blanche with his *Illustrerad Tidning*, started a campaign to force through reform. *Fäderneslandet* and the workers association (*Arbetsföreningen*) supported this. Blanche saw Garibaldi and his people's armies, who fought for the national cause, as an example of how to proceed in Sweden in order to achieve a new democratic system.²

It was in this period that sharpshooter corps were founded all across Sweden, first in Stockholm and Göteborg. The problem was to gather money in order to buy rifles and other important equipment, since Charles XV refused to give financial support to the movement. In the beginning, the different corps therefore had to borrow money from other associations, insurance funds or banks in order to be able to practice and march together with the sharpshooters of the bourgeoisie. Blanche called all the sharpshooter clubs "crusades for democracy".³

As a consequence, the state government intervened, incorporating the voluntary sharpshooter corps in its military system, in order to control participating workers and other radical persons. This co-operation between the liberal bourgeoisie and workers showed that it was possible to attain a common goal, even though opinions on how to bring about parliamentary reform diverged. The liberal bourgeoisie was satisfied with an extended right to vote, while the workers threatened revolution if they did not win universal suffrage.⁴ It was through the sharpshooter movement that the above mentioned campaign in favour of parliamentary reform was connected to Garibaldi and his struggles to unify Italy. It was seen as a "national liberation movement", just as in Italy. The newly founded sharpshooter clubs

¹ Jansson, T., *Adertonhundratalets associationer*, 1985, pp. 186-192, 196f.

² Abrahamsson, 1990, p. 381.

³ Abrahamsson, 1990, p. 382f. Unity and Freedom was a club in Stockholm, led by the tailor Söderstedt in a struggle for political equality in society, mainly for workers. The club also sought democratic parliamentary reform.

⁴ Abrahamsson, 1990, p. 383.

mobilized themselves around the demand for reform of the old system of four Estates, and managed to connect this demand to the national liberation movement in Italy.⁵

In nineteenth century Germany, various bourgeois societies had as their aim, through the national rituals and other activities, to express messages about German nationality and their wish for a democratic governing system. The German societies and associations arose as a result of changes in bourgeoisie life i.e. they moved from being a private matter to become part of the public sphere. The messages in the civic, public, rituals and similar manifestations in Helsingborg and other parts of Sweden did not greatly diverge from those in Germany, inasmuch as the myth of Garibaldi in Sweden urged national liberation through the demand for constitutional reform. In those years, *Öresundsposten* strongly supported reform through different correspondents and articles, and furthermore, already in the 1840s Fredrik Borg was involved in the radical newspaper *Reform* and the *Bildungs* club in Stockholm, which both sought for workers to attain political equality in society. These were impressions and ideas that Borg can be considered to have brought with him to Helsingborg and its *Bildungs* clubs, workers clubs and the like. Fredrik Borg was certainly a spokesman of the workers in Helsingborg, probably mainly the labour aristocracy. However, it should be emphasized that he himself, just as Blanche, was a radical bourgeois who wanted to see parliamentary reform, even though not at the cost of revolution.⁶

Voluntary gathering in associations (*associationsväsendet*) played an important part in the origin and organization of the festivities and public rites that are analyzed in this thesis. In eighteenth century England voluntary gathering in associations and clubs was an important part of the public sphere. To gather in coffee houses, pubs or other clubs was a way to meet other people, discuss the latest political questions, and be able as a group to express opinions in newspapers. "It was a part of civil society, independent of the state, yet able to influence that state through the organization and mediation of public opinion." We see how people from different strata such as merchants, artisans, farmers and manufacturers could come together and become important elements in public opinion in order to make their voices heard by the state power.⁷ During the French Revolution also citizens gathered in clubs and patriotic societies to, among other things, learn to understand revolutionary symbols and to discuss the latest political news from the National Assembly. The result was that many more people

⁵ Abrahamsson, 1990, p. 384.

⁶ Borg probably saw himself, and could be considered, as a republican, just as had been Garibaldi. Neither of them wanted to desert the monarchy, since they saw it, at that moment, as the best solution to their democratic aims.

⁷ *Family Fortunes. Men and women of the English middle class 1780-1850*, eds. Leonore Davidoff and Catharine Hall, London, 1987, p. 419.

became aware of their own situation in society. Every little moment of everyday life became politicized and people dared to make speeches, sing revolutionary songs, participate in political meetings and other rituals and much more.⁸

In Germany, after the Napoleonic wars, people gathered and founded different kinds of societies and clubs, such as Theater Societies, Women societies, Song Associations and Scientific Associations. There, the bourgeoisie engaged in projects to develop national German values and campaign for a democratic German nation state. Furthermore, they were “patriotic” and “democratic in their cross-class appeal”.⁹ The bourgeois trend to bring out social debate into public i.e. it became commonly accepted had its origins in the first decades of the nineteenth century. It became a way of living to organize musical evenings, go to coffee bars, make excursions and similar, and this led to the spreading of bourgeois culturally nationalistic values and opinions to the people in general. By organizing national festivities that commemorated the Wars of Liberation (with “Gymnastik” and Choir Societies as central participants) it was possible to express opinions on national values across an even larger front.¹⁰

In this context the *bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit* could, according to Ake Abrahamsson, be described as a structure of communication which can be divided into cultural and political parts. In the cultural part, the *Bürgerlichkeit* developed a new way of living by which they educated themselves culturally by reading the most modern literature. The political part consisted of those inns, societies and clubs where the *Bürgerlichkeit* gathered to discuss different social questions.¹¹ The cultural part would correspond to Wolfgang Kaschuba’s theory of the *Bürgerlichkeit* making its habits public, i.e. that they gathered in coffee bars and on musical evenings to discuss literature or to enjoy the music à la mode. The political part, on the other hand, would correspond with the fact that people engaged themselves in various associations, clubs and societies in order to discuss current and important questions.

To study political festivals and processions in nineteenth century Sweden gives a general picture of what political ideas and messages the people wanted to express. It also gives us an idea of what symbolic display and language they developed in order to construct a reality that would communicate their ideas about local, and national, society. However, interpretation of the festivities, and their symbols, will also be important to understand

⁸ Hunt, 1984, 72f.

⁹ Mosse, George L., *The Nationalization of the Masses*, 1975, p. 127.

¹⁰ Kaschuba, 1990, p. 236ff.

¹¹ Abrahamsson, 1990, p. 37f. and p. 263. Abrahamsson says that this bourgeois structure of communication grew out of the market economy and the further developed in the *borgerliga* cultural environments in the cities.

cultural sociability and the “class construction of the middle-class“. The German historian Charlotte Tacke has stressed the fact that by participating in associations and festivals, the German and French middle classes were “constructing and representing their cultural and social distinctiveness“. Furthermore, she says that „acts of communication“and feelings of having a “common culture“that existed among the members of associations may be another important area for analysis.¹²

In nineteenth century Sweden, the spirit of associations arose in an interim between feudal and capitalistic societies. This spirit carried elements of both social structures, inasmuch as those people founding the associations were influenced by the old guild spirit. Voluntary gathering in different associations and societies developed in Sweden at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and these associations often had socially charitable purposes, as for example Svenska bibelsällskapet (the Swedish Bible Society) and Sällskapet De nödlidandes vänner (The Society for the Needy). This is connected to the fact that the State that grew out of the Swedish political revolution in 1809 was not interested in taking responsibility for social welfare in society, but rather supported and encouraged voluntary systems. Consequently, associations which were founded across the country dedicated to spreading knowledge of the Bible, to teaching and educating, to treatment of alcoholics and to poor relief. Those who committed themselves to these associations mostly belonged to the upper class, or the *Bürgerlichkeit*.¹³

From the 1840s onwards the lower classes (the workers) also started to gather in different societies and clubs to take charge of, and look after, their own interests, and to discuss political questions. *Bildungs* clubs were a common phenomenon, where journeymen and other workers sought to learn to read, write, and listen to lectures. This could also keep them away from pubs and drunkenness.¹⁴ The “ideal of consensus“was another important feature of the different associations. They should be open to everyone who wished to participate, since terms such as cooperation and freedom would be important building blocks in the new society. In Swedish research this has been considered as a sort of higher ideology, because the participants in the various associations often discussed concepts such as community, welfare of the Fatherland and patriotism in order to feel that they shared something in common in a period full of trouble. They tried to create a national spirit by

¹² Tacke, C., 1998, pp. 422-423.

¹³ Jansson, T., 1985, p. 15, 128ff. and 182f. According to Jansson, the word association was not commonly used at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but the societies used names such as *förening*, *förbund*, *sällskap* and (in the 1840s) *cirkel*.

¹⁴ Jansson, 1985, p. 164ff., 186-192, 196f.

which everybody would have, more or less, the same goal, even though the structure and the activities of the existing associations were different.¹⁵

We should note that, tracing the patriotic ideologies of the middle classes by looking at who joined associations, has been put into question and characterized as misleading in recent research. Jussi Kurunmäki stresses that there were different interpretations and understandings of the concept of patriotism in the nineteenth century. On the one hand, there was a republican tradition which looked upon patriotism in terms of “political citizenship, civic virtues and laws”. On the other hand, the national liberals understood patriotism from a more political point of view which, in turn, was combined with the concept of “togetherness”. Togetherness was used in a traditional sense in which both “social and educational paternalism” were important aspects. These understandings of patriotism have been arrived at thanks to Kurunmäki’s studies of the rhetoric in the political reform debate in the 1860s.¹⁶ However, the misleading element which Kurunmäki refers to does not seem to have been so devastating for the general goal of the associations. Even though the radicals and national liberals had different understandings of the meaning of patriotism, they seemed to have unified their ideas and forces within the voluntary associations.

In Germany, the patriotic element of association was also important. Furthermore, the German associations had two main functions in society, namely that of “public service” and “reform”, and that of being a place where “social, cultural, and professional demands” could interact.¹⁷

The lower classes in Sweden (as in the rest of 19th century Europe) started to politicize their lives and to become aware of their own position in society and how to improve it. To a great extent it was the working class aristocracy, that is craftsmen and artisan apprentices, who, together with the radical liberals, stood up for the political situation of the workers in general. Furthermore, they often had help and support from charismatic liberal leaders who also had a certain power in society, such as Fredrik Borg in Helsingborg and August Blanche in Stockholm with his “malmgårdskrets”.

It was usually the Music Corps, the Choir Society, the Journeymen Corps, the artisan apprentices and the bourgeoisie which participated in the various public rites and processions in Sweden. The first two groups belonged to the associations discussed above, while the other three consisted of persons who, presumably, were active in other societies and clubs which were not represented in the festivities. Another important argument to show that the voluntary

¹⁵ Jansson, 1985, p. 242f.

¹⁶ Kurunmäki, 2000, p. 228f.

¹⁷ Mosse, 1975, p. 127.

associations were essential in these kind of rituals is the fact that the initiators of the Stenbock Festival in 1860 and the Garibaldi Festival in 1862, such as Hedström, Hafström and Borg, were also central figures in certain associations (the local Sharpshooter association, the Choir Society, the Voluntary Fire Brigade and the *Bildungs Club*). Furthermore, Fredrik Borg was the editor of *Öresundsposten*, through which he could argue in favour of political festivities.¹⁸

The different associations often figured in the press, not only in relation to festivals and rituals, but also summoning meetings or in reporting about other interesting events. On the 3rd of October 1862, the same day that the program of the Garibaldi Festival was published in *Öresundsposten*, the Helsingborg Choir Society summoned “a meeting at the usual place tomorrow at 7 o’clock“. This meeting may partly have been gathered in order to make plans about the procession on the coming Sunday.

Further, in connection with the Garibaldi Festival, an association was founded “by the name ‘Handwerkarnes Klubb’ in memory of the Garibaldi party“, as was announced in *Öresundsposten* the 10th October.¹⁹ This Artisans Club was to be one of the most important and most active associations in Helsingborg during the next few years, organizing evening entertainments, Christmas parties, lectures etc. In the same issue, a farewell dinner was reported (afskedskollation) to have been held by the Allerums Choir Society in favour of Ola Jönsson, its former president. The article gives an account of how that party was organized, and in the following quote one can notice the similarities with other festivities in this thesis.

On the exterior of the party hall flags were flying, the Swedish, Italian and that of Helsingborg; the park was illuminated by coloured lamps. In the background of the hall was placed a tasteful platform with flowers and greenery, together with the initials of the guest of honour made out of the most beautiful dahlias. Skanska Husarsextetten played, alternating patriotic songs with the Choir Society. One of the hosts, Gunnar Persson, made, after a suitable speech, a toast to Ola Jönsson.

It is noticeable here that they had decorated using Italian flags which was to be typical of the period whenever an opportunity arose to express sympathy to and support for Italy and Garibaldi. Decoration with different flags and singing patriotic songs corresponds with ideals by which the people, from different social stratas, were striving for a national community just as in the German associations. Further, regarding the decoration and illumination of the park, the similarities with other festivities in this study are obvious.

¹⁸ See p. 14, 21 and 23.

¹⁹ Ett „sällskap/.../under namn af ‚Handwerkarnes Klubb‘ (the Artisans Club), till minne af Garibaldifesten“. ÖP, 10/10, 1862.

The analyzed newspapers

Öresundsposten was a liberal organ in favour of both parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union edited in Helsingborg by Fredrik Borg. In the 1850s, during the peak of the Student Scandinavian Movement, *Öresundsposten*, (then edited by Oscar Patrick Sturzen-Becker) was the central organ of the Scandinavianism. *Nyare Helsingborgsposten* was a conservative newspaper in Helsingborg edited by Fredrik Borg's rival Thornberg. *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts Tidning* was a liberal paper and it was edited by S.A Hedlund in the 1860s. In the 1850s and 1860s, the writer Viktor Rydberg was writing a lot of articles for *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts Tidning*. *Den Svenska Arbetaren* was an organ for workers and it was edited in Norrköping during some few years in the 1860s. *Nerikes Allehanda* was edited in Örebro and Karl Arvid Gumælius was the director from 1857 onwards. The newspaper was well known in that period for being one of the most important radical papers in the country.²⁰ Another important provincial newspaper was *Östgöta Correspondenten*, which was founded around 1840 by H.P Palmær in Linköping. By the end of the year 1840, C.F. Ridderstad started co-operating with Palmær and soon afterwards he took over the editing of *Östgöta Correspondenten*. Ridderstad continued to publish the newspaper until 1886. In the beginning, it was a fairly liberal organ but as the years passed it became more and more conservative.²¹ In 1758 *Norrköpings Wecko-Tidningar* was founded by the book publisher Johan Edman and later on in 1787 the newspaper changed its name to *Norrköpings Tidningar*. Politically the newspaper was conservative.²²

Further on, I have used four newspapers that were edited in Stockholm during the period of my analysis. *Aftonbladet* was the main liberal organ in Sweden and in the 1860s it was edited by August Sohlman. It was very much in favour of a Scandinavian union. *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* was, on the contrary, a conservative newspaper regarding political questions and moderately liberal in economic matters. Its editor in the 1860s was K.A Lindström. *Fäderneslandet* was a rabid radical organ directed to the lower working classes in Stockholm and on the countryside. Its editor in the 1860s was C.G Ugglå. Noticeable is also that the tailor Julius Söderstedt and the socialist C.R Löwstedt, who had been central persons in the Scandinavian Society and the Swedish branch of the Communist association in the

²⁰ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/a0411.html>; <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/rydberg.html>

²¹ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/b0345.html>

²² <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/nfbs/0812.html>

1850s, wrote for *Fäderneslandet* in those years.²³ Then, last but not least, we have the newspaper *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* which in the beginning had been founded in order to observe the society life in Europe, adventures in general and cultural events. However, when August Blanche became the editor in 1857, he started to smuggle in political view points in the more cultural and entertaining articles.²⁴

²³ The Scandinavian Society was a more radical variant of the *Bildungs* club (*Bildningscirkel*), where the participants discussed the communist doctrines and, according to Abrahamsson, it was a under cover for „De Rättfärdigas Förbund“ (the Association of the Righteous) where the members nourished the socialistic utopia about a new democratic Europe for the workers. The Communist association in Stockholm read Cabet and proclaimed itself to belong to a peaceful and progressive branch of communism. See further Abrahamsson, 1990, p. 340f.

²⁴ Abrahamsson, 1990, pp. 263, 269f; Bruun, K., “Pressen i Sverige och förspelet till Lantdagen 1863.”, in *Historisk Tidsskrift för Finland*, nr. 1, 1950, p. 16f.

V. Garibaldi

This first empirical case study will discuss the influence of the Garibaldi story in Swedish politics in the 1860s. The presentation of the Italian bill in the Burghers' Estate in 1859 marked the beginning of a series of cultural activities in Sweden in which Garibaldi was celebrated as the great hero of European freedom and democracy. In 1860, the Swedish Garibaldi Fund was started by August Blanche, among others, in order to raise money for Garibaldi and his people's armies in the south of Italy and their aim of unifying Italy. There were also spontaneous celebrations to honour Garibaldi. In addition, diplomatic relations between Sweden and Italy increased. Festivals as well as diplomatic contacts followed as the 1859 bill and its marking of the positive standpoint of the Swedish *Riksdag* towards the liberation and unification of Italy. The use of Garibaldi as a symbol for democratic freedom and national unification reached its peak in 1862 when the hero was injured at the battle of Aspromonte.

This chapter will explore the ways in which Garibaldi, but also Piedmont and king Victor Emanuel, were instrumentalized in Sweden in a narrative (mythic story) urging the parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union. The liberal press used foreign and national events as well as heroic personalities for the construction of a suitable story to legitimize the contemporary social changes.

Research about Garibaldi in the Swedish context

Research on public opinion and the liberal press in Sweden with regard to the enthusiasm for parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union has been rather poor in the twentieth century. Similarly, research on Swedish relations with Italy, and the reception of Garibaldi as a mythic figure in the domestic political context in the 1860s, has large gaps. Studies have been made by Birgitta Eimer and Silvio Furlani, who both emphasize the need for further research in the field.

The Swedish Garibaldi Fund seems to have aroused a genuine popular movement involving several strata of society, though with a very considerable following among the lower classes. This reflects the popularity of the adored hero as a rallying point and as a man who for the most part was above party politics. A great deal of basic research remains to be done concerning the press and public opinion in Sweden before we can obtain a secure grasp of the details.¹

...the observation made by Eimer regarding the awareness that there is a great need of research on the press and on public opinion in the Scandinavian countries, is more valid than ever. [...]Further research will make it possible to from the beginning, bit by bit, reconstruct the true dimension of Garibaldi and the limits of his appearance in Scandinavia and of his transformation into an emblematic symbol both ideologically and politically.²

In *Cavour and Swedish politics*, Eimer draws the conclusion that Scandinavia, mainly Sweden, held a prominent position in Italian politics, and she emphasises that Swedish politics were strongly influenced by Cavour in the 1850s and 1860s.³ In those years, Sweden considered Italy a model for its own national development, i.e. the *Risorgimento* grew to be an example for a successful Scandinavianism. The difference between the two areas, according to Eimer, was that in Sweden there did not exist the “radical republican element which in Italy had forced the monarchists and the middle class to take to action.” Furthermore, Eimer claims that Sweden lacked the corrupt bureaucracy that in the kingdom of Naples had provoked radical liberals into military action. Finally, king Charles XV could compete neither with Victor Emanuel’s great personality, nor with his part in the Italian unification process.⁴

In his essay “La Svezia, lo Scandinavismo e il Risorgimento Italiano“, Furlani stresses that domestic political events in the 1860s, such as the conflict regarding the

¹ Eimer, 1978, p. 202.

² Furlani, S., „Il mito di Garibaldi in Scandinavia“, 1982, pp. 334f.è più che mai valida la constatazione fatta dalla Eimer sulla consapevolezza della necessità di ricerche più estese e più elaborate sulla stampa e sull’opinione pubblica in Scandinavia/.../che permetteranno di ricostruire, passo a passo, la reale dimensione, fin dagli inizi, dei limiti della apparizione della figura di Garibaldi in Scandinavia e della sua trasformazione in simbolo emblematico ideologico-politico.“

³ Eimer, 1978, p. 7.

⁴ Eimer, 1978, pp. 417f.

Norwegian *stattholder*, the Scandinavianists' calls for nordic union, and the campaigns for parliamentary reform, caused Sweden to connect its political problems with Italy and to consider events there a suitable model.⁵

Furlani underlines, as does Eimer, that Sweden considered Italy a model for a Scandinavian union and concomitant parliamentary reform. Swedish liberals were inspired by Garibaldi and his people's armies, giving rise to the foundation of the sharpshooter movement in Sweden in 1860.⁶ Furthermore, Furlani notes that in order to transmit the message about reform and union to the wider public, reformers used Italy and, mainly, the myth of Garibaldi in their propaganda. The latter became a symbol of the monarchy as well as the republic, since from a political point of view he belonged to the radical left, but from a practical standpoint he considered the Sardinian monarchy, with its king Victor Emanuel, the best solution to the Italian question at present.⁷

In Germany, the Prussian liberals in that period resembled their Swedish counterparts in their analysis of the unification process in Italy. The kingdom of Sardinia was a model for the unification of Germany under Prussia. Two German periodicals, *Preussische Jahrbücher* and *Die Grenzboten*, the voices of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century, therefore actively pursued ideas of making Prussia into the leading actor in a German unification process. However, after the dismissal of Garibaldi from Italian politics, the German newspapers were no longer interested in the Italian question. According to Dietmar Stübler, German liberals and their newspapers had not been interested in the unification process of Italy in itself. Their interest lay in efforts to use Italian influence for strengthening the liberal German position in domestic and international politics.⁸

⁵ Furlani, S., „La Svezia, lo Scandinavismo e il Risorgimento Italiano“, 1976, p. 291.

⁶ Furlani, 1982, pp. 335f.

⁷ Furlani, 1982, p. 338.

⁸ Stübler, D., „Guerra e rivoluzione in Italia nella stampa liberale prussiana“, in *Contemporanea*, nr. 3., 1998, pp. 581ff; 592ff.

The Garibaldi Fund

The landing at Marsala in 1860.

However, the four steamships came closer and closer,[...] and soon one could notice with the naked eye, that the decks of both the chasing and the chased ships were overcrowded with armed people. [...]

It was a new expedition against the royal authorities on the island. Many took to flight, warned off by a dearly-bought experience from the many previous failed attempts. The cries: "Evviva la libertà!" were heard here and there.[...]

- Incredible, that our captain does not show up!, said the younger (officer); to hide in a moment like this!
- There are moments, when it is safer to be inside, rather than outside, the walls, admitted the older (officer).
- I see a vigorous figure in a calabrese hat, red coat and with a red cloak over the shoulders.
- It is...Garibaldi!
- Evviva Garibaldi!

(The commanding captain turned around and saw that his troupe had diminished during the march towards the harbour and thus asked his soldiers what had happened. They answered that the devil i.e. Garibaldi had taken their fellow soldiers, after which the commander answered that the devil then also could take the rest of them. Then the captain escaped too. Only the two before mentioned officers remained. They both put a white handkerchief on top of their sabres thus giving the sign that they surrendered themselves to the troops of Garibaldi. *My summary.*)

So it happened at the world renowned landing of the army of the thousand in Sicily on the 11th May 1860. ⁹

The Lallerstedt Bill shifted liberal public opinion in Sweden strongly in favour of Italian unification. National liberals, including August Blanche, promoted the foundation of the Garibaldi Fund in May 1860.¹⁰ Furthermore, the turning point in the Swedish political debate caused by the Bill on the Italian question also seems to have launched a general eagerness to organize political rituals and demonstrations all over the country. The movement was particularly intense during the following years, that is, more or less until the sanction of the parliamentary reform proposal in 1865. In those five years, political festivals, processions and meetings were rather frequent phenomena around Sweden. Mostly, festivals took place in urban environments, but also in the countryside cultural events were organized to express political sentiments about events both at home and abroad. The Garibaldi festivities are

⁹ This is taken from a story written by August Blanche after his visit to Italy in 1864 and has no value as a factual source. However, it is a story about how the local inhabitants and soldiers of Marsala might have reacted when they saw the steamers approaching the harbour. See Blanche, A., *Berättelser IV, Bilder ur verkligheten*, Stockholm, 1865, pp. 195- 197.

mostly to be found in 1860-1862 in connection with the bill and the news about Garibaldi having been captured by Victor Emanuel's troops (1862).

The liberal press wrote extensively about the European political situation in those years, and especially about the Italian question. In January 1860, *Öresundsposten* discussed the latest political events in the south of Italy and, in addition, expressed editorial comments about the kingdom of Sardinia.

„[...]when talking about Italy, we may look at Sardinia, this little kingdom, that through the understanding and courage of its people together with the openmindedness of its kings already has a leading position in world history. This state has gained a democratic constitution, freedom of religion, a well organized army, railways etc. during the past decade. She seems also to be destined to become the head of the Italian kingdom, because that is the wish of all noble and enlightened Italians, [...]the voice of the people is the voice of God.“¹¹

By means of describing the recent development of Sardinia, the newspaper also referred to a desire for imminent Swedish development. Emphasizing that Sardinia was a small kingdom, with courageous citizens and an openminded king, made possible comparison with Sweden, also a small kingdom. In that period the question of parliamentary reform was becoming hotly debated and liberals stressed the importance of patriotic and courageous citizens who would not hesitate to sacrifice themselves for the fatherland. Sardinia became a model for monarchy taking the initiative in the national and democratic arena. In that way, there was a direct parallel to Sweden, and King Charles XV's hopes of becoming the leading monarch in a future Scandinavian union.¹²

Groups throughout Sweden started to be anxious to express their support to the Italian National Movement, of which Garibaldi was an important member. In May 1860, the *spedizione dei Mille* was watched with excitement in the Swedish press, and *Aftonbladet*, among others, reported vividly about the bombardment of Palermo.¹³ On the very same day, 31st May, the editors of *Aftonbladet* also inserted a special headline, „Subscription fund for

¹⁰ This kind of fund-raising, mainly through subscription, had already been done in England after a general appeal by Garibaldi with his *spedizione dei mille*. See further Eimer, 1978, p. 184; Carlsson-Rosén, 1961, p. 327f.

¹¹ ÖP, 2/1, 1860. [...]på tal om Italien, må vi kasta en blick på Sardinien, detta lilla rike, som genom folkets insigt och mod samt genom sina furstars frisinthet redan intager ett utmärkt rum i världshistorien. En fri statsförfattning, religionsfrihet, en väl organiserad armé, jernvägar m.m. har denna stat skaffat sig under det gångna decenniet. Den tycks dessutom vara ämnad till hufwudet för konungariket Italien, ty så wilja alla ädla och upplysta Italienare, [...]folkets röst är Guds röst.“

¹² See Holmberg, 1946, pp. 370-375.; Postén, 1982.; Viroli, 1995, pp. 97f.

¹³ AB, 31/5, 1860.

Garibaldi and Sicily". This announcement was published in *Fäderneslandet* the 2nd June, and spread to many other newspapers around the country, in the city and countryside.¹⁴

The article in *Fäderneslandet* tells how Italian „patriots“ had appealed to the „liberal“ people of Europe for economic support in order to fight, mainly, against „the oppressors of Sicily“. ¹⁵ After England and France, it was now Sweden's turn, and the main reason referred to was that Sicily, long time inhabited by „Norman descendants, also counted ancestors from the Scandinavian peninsula“. The article invited the Swedish people to „assist Garibaldi and his troops in their noble and glorious Sicilian struggle on behalf of brothers both through the ties of blood and of liberty.“¹⁶ Historical bonds between the Swedes and Sicilians were highlighted in order to legitimate the contribution of financial aid for war. The liberals used nationalist parameters in order to legitimate raising money for battle against the Bourbon oppression in the south of Italy.¹⁷

*Fäderneslandet*¹⁸ was a fairly radical newspaper which actively took the side of the lower classes in society. This became obvious when it wrote about the „oppressed, impoverished and plundered Sicily“ that had sufficient „heroism and patriotism, but without arms and money it would not get far.“ The paper referred to the fact that repression was a general phenomenon in many countries, „it concerns *all* countries and people, the ongoing struggle is a struggle of mankind against barbarity. Every free people/.../ must hasten to assistance, - and we do not believe that the Swedish people, when this chord is touched, will be the last.“ ¹⁹ *Fäderneslandet* appealed to the people's longing for freedom and struggle against despotism, and claimed that oppression was a common enemy across borders. The paper alluded to the powerless situation of the workers and to the fact that large groups in the Swedish society were excluded from the constitutional system. The lower classes in society had no possibility to affect the election of representatives to the Riksdag.

¹⁴ The initiators who signed this appeal were, among others, August Blanche and A.W Björck, both from the Burgers Estate. There were also representatives from the Peasants Estate, such as P. Eriksson from the county of Wermland and Joh. Andersson from the county of Skaraborg.

¹⁵ „patrioter“, „frisinnade“, Siciliens förtryckare“. Fäd., 2/6, 1860.

¹⁶ „normannernas afkomlingar, äfven räknar förfäder från skandinaviska halfön“, „bispringa Garibaldi och hans kämpar i deras ädla och ärofulla kamp för sicilianarne, våra bröder genom blodets och frihetskänslans band“. Fäd., 2/6, 1860.

¹⁷ The Bourbon royal family were the absolutist rulers of the kingdom of the two Sicilies, which controlled the southern parts of Italy from the beginning of the 18th century up until 1860. (Regno delle Due Sicilie). See www.creamich.com/italiano/hist-borb.html

¹⁸ Fäd. started being published in Stockholm in November 1853, but had already been published in Copenhagen and in Lund since 1852. Its editor in the 1850s was Nils Rudolf Munch af Rosenschöld who, according to Åke Abrahamsson, was considered the „greatest rabid radical of the time“. The editor in the 1860s was A.C Uggla. The newspaper appealed mainly to workers, but also to craftsmen and peasants. See Abrahamsson, 1990, p. 145.

¹⁹ „förtryckta, utsugna och plundrade Sicilien“, „hjeltemod och fosterlandskärlek, men utan vapen och penningar kommer det ej långt“, „det gäller alla länder och folk, den strid som pågår, är en mänsklighetens strid mot

Swedish contributions

Who decided to contribute to the Garibaldi fund? The contributions accounted for in *Aftonbladet* in 1860 shows that the lower as well as the higher classes made contributions.²⁰ To be more precise, - workers, single women, boys and girls, yeomen, shopkeepers, „freedom lovers“, different societies, - are mentioned in the newspaper.²¹ On the 31st July, *Aftonbladet* published names of contributors collected in Helsingborg through *Öresundsposten*. Persons who made a contribution often also wrote a short poem about their reason for giving money to Garibaldi and his movement. The poems were published next to the amount of money given. The poems often alluded to the king of Naples, king Bomba (King Francesco II of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies), and his alleged cruelty. Thus, a poem could evoke,

Down with the tyrant!; To pills for Bomba II; (AB, 23/8)
...with the wish that king Bomba junior soon will be dismissed; (12/6)
to purchase a bomb, in order to crush king Bomba; (12/6)
Give to Bomba, so he will remember
A lash for each of these 25 öre. (31/6)²²

The poems about Garibaldi described him as a brave hero and wished him courage in the struggle against oppression. There were also words of comfort for the Italian people.

Don't be appalled thou little crowd!
The one that God helps, will be helped²³
To the brave general Garibaldi. (23/8)

Some of the contributions expressed, more clearly than others, the origins of the writer and what kind of message s/he wanted to transmit with their contribution to the Garibaldi fund.²⁴

barbariet. Hvarje fritt folk/.../måste här skynda till bistånd, - och vi tro ej att svenska folket, när denna sträng anslås, skall vara det sista“. Fäd., 2/6, 1860.

²⁰ The calculations are based on subscription lists from bookstores and newspaper offices around the country in 1860.

²¹ AB, 12/6;21/6;2/7;3/7;6/7;9/7;10/7;11/7;12/7;13/7;16/7;17/7;18/7;23/7;25/7;31/7;7/8;23/8, 1860.

²² Ned med tyrannen!; Till piller åt Bomba II

...med önskan att kung Bomba junior snart måtte få respass;
för inköp af en bomb att dermed krossa kung Bomba;
Så Bomba gif, att han det mins
Ett rapp för hvart af dessa öre 25 öre.

²³ AB, 6/7. These two lines are taken from the army hymn of Gustavus II Adolphus. Its origin is to be found in the Bible, Lukas 12,32: Frukta dig icke, du klene hjord.

²⁴ We can see how persons from the lower classes of society, despite their own poor situation, also women, were engaged in fund raising. Garibaldi was very popular among women, as they saw in him a hero who incorporated

From a constitutional 25 öre. (12/6)

A man's, without means, poor contribution to a holy purpose 3rd. (12/6)

A contribution from some workers to the people's armies in Sicily, the safest defence against Despotism. (31/7)

H.S., a Swedish woman, who wishes that the terrorism in Sicily may come to an end, 3rd. (12/6)²⁵

Donors not only gave money, but also items such as jewelry or guns and rifles.

A breastpin, a pair of earrings and a fingerring. (12/6)

7 guns and a sabre. (23/8)²⁶

In the countryside, people gathered to collect money either in a file or in general what the peasants could spare. Other ways to raise money, for example, were to organize evening entertainments or different kinds of competitions. From the parish of Önnarp in the south of Sweden an interesting poem accompanied the contribution, written by the school teacher N. Larsson.

The gift is small, but it is accompanied by the fervent desire, that not only the Sicilian people may be liberated from the bondage of bodily tyranny, but also that a wide and strong door may be opened to the spirit of the Lord through liberation from bodily bondage, so that this spirit, through the words of God and their clean and clear lights may penetrate in these dark countries, making this people legally free! (23/8)²⁷

This contribution aimed at converting the Italian people from catholicism to protestantism!

Soirée

In June 1860 a soiree was organized in Göteborg in order to raise money for the Garibaldi Fund.

The evening started with a choir singing "Hear us Svea" (Hör oss Svea), followed by a prologue

male virtues such as bravery, strength and decisiveness. Furthermore, women of course found him attractive for his looks, being slightly above medium height, having curly hair and a red beard, a persuasive voice, a profound gaze and being fascinating in general. In short, the perfect protagonist of a romantic novel. See Calabrese, O., *Garibaldi, tra l'Ivanhoe e Sandokan*, Milano, 1982, pp. 40f.

²⁵ Af en konstitutionell 25 öre;

En obemedlad mans ringa bidrag till ett heligt ändamål 3 rdr;

Bidrag af några arbetare till folkbeväpningen på Sicilien, det säkraste värn mot despotismen;

H.S., en svensk qvinna, som önskar att skräckvaldet på Sicilien må få ett slut, 3 rdr.

²⁶ En brosch, ett par örhängen och en fingerring;

7 kanoner samt en sabel.

²⁷ Gåfvan är ringa, men den åtföljes af den innerligaste önskan, att icke allenast det sicilianska folket måtte befrias från det lekamliga tyranniets ok, utan äfven att en stor och kraftig dörr måtte öppnas för Herrens ande genom befrielsen från den lekamliga träldomen, så att denna anda måtte, genom Guds ords rena och klara ljus in trängande i desso mörko lande, få göra detta folk rättsligen fritt!.

that ended with the words "Freedom lives in the North".²⁸ These words fitted well with the main reason for organising the musical evening, i.e., that the free people in Scandinavia should give their moral as well as economic support to the oppressed Sicilian people in order to help it gain its liberty from the Bourbon (Borboni) despotism.

The soiree continued with various theatrical performances and a ballet.²⁹ Later in the evening, a choir sang, and then followed a reading of the poem "Song to Sicily", from which I will quote the last stanza as it very much describes the intentions and aims of the Garibaldi Fund.³⁰

O daughter of the North, you, who have gained
A better destiny in your daily life,
Up, excite the minds of the men!
And raise a prayer to the sky
For the South, for the fairy island
In the waves of the Mediterranean sea!³¹

The poem was an example of making symbolic connection between the nationalism pursued by Garibaldi and nationalism in Sweden. A reformed Sweden should be understood in the context of the people's freedom. Interest in Italy among the Swedish people would be an incentive to support Garibaldi and his people's armies in their struggle for independence and freedom. At the same time, the fund should be an incentive for Sweden to consider its own national situation and to pursue its struggle for democratic freedom.

The evening ended with the choir singing "Under the banner of Svea" (Under Svea banér). Newspapers reported that the event was almost sold out. It had thus fulfilled its purpose of demonstrating deeply felt sympathy with Garibaldi and his struggle for freedom in the south of Italy.³² There was a strong nationalist and patriotic atmosphere during the musical evening. "Hear us Svea" and "Under the banner of Svea" were hymns that belonged to the normal monarchic cultural tradition of the period. However, these songs also celebrated Swedish nationalist and patriotic feelings in a period when there had recently been a dispute with Norway on the right to appoint a stattholder. Sweden needed to modernize its constitution in order to enter a future union on equal terms with the other Nordic countries.³³

²⁸ The prologue was read by Mr S.A Hedlund.

²⁹ All performed by Mr. Selinder and his company of actors

³⁰ The choir sang pieces composed by director J.A Söderling

³¹ GHT, 21/6, 1860.

³² GHT, 21/6, 1860.

³³ See Holmberg, 1946, pp. 370ff.; Gullberg, 1972, pp. 82f.; Carlsson-Rosén, 1961, pp. 329f.

Festivities in honour of Garibaldi

People from across the Swedish social spectrum participated in festivities and processions where they paid their respect to the great hero Garibaldi. On some occasions an address was read in public and then sent on to Garibaldi himself. Thereby, a correspondence started between the Swedish "people" and the Italian hero.

The coming analysis of newspaper texts will show the importance of the rich metaphorical language that was used for expressing opinions on national and European politics. This language was part of a narrative (an alternative reality) constructed in that period to articulate the political aims of certain groups. Thus liberal public opinion adopted a story that used revolutionary symbols to argue for parliamentary reform. For the Scandinavian union, the constructed story, on the other hand, was based rather on a "glorious" Swedish (storsvensk) past as a great power. The festive events and their structure will be described and put in context. Next, I make an analysis of symbolic language in connection with ritual performance and its symbolic structures. Symbolic and political rites and festivities were deployed to express opinions about national politics, the importance of independence and the need for patriotism. Such concepts functioned as a means to put pressure on the government on the issues of parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union.³⁴

1860

The Bill presented by Gustaf Lallerstedt to the Swedish Riksdag in 1859 resulted in the appointment of marquis Giovanni Antonio Migliorati as diplomatic envoy of the Kingdom of Sardinia in Stockholm. This diplomatic appointment was a mark of gratitude from the kingdom of Sardinia for the *Riksdag*'s official support for Italian desires for independence and unity. Marchise Migliorati passed through Helsingborg on his way towards Stockholm in February 1860. When the inhabitants of the town heard news of his arrival, they decided to pay him their respect. The local Choir Society of the Voluntary Fire Brigade and the Military

Music Corps gathered “spontaneously” in front of hotel Mollberg, where the marchise stayed for the night, to “give him a serenade”.³⁵

The consequence of this simple manifestation was a letter from the Italian National Society (*Società Nazionale Italiana*, S.N.I), thanking the inhabitants of Helsingborg for the kindness they had shown to marchise Migliorati. Therefore, S.N.I wrote that its central committee had decided to appoint the people of Helsingborg as members of honour. A connection between the inhabitants of Helsingborg, Garibaldi and S.N.I was thereby established, and this relation allowed local radical burghers feel a certain closeness to Garibaldi and Italy.

In July 1860, some of the S.N.I members of honour in Helsingborg decided to send a gift together with an address to Garibaldi in order to celebrate his birthday. The gift was a sabre that once had been a „gift of honour from Charles XIV John to a Swedish General.”³⁶

1862

The peak of the Garibaldi movement in Sweden was reached in 1862 (September) when Garibaldi was defeated and injured at the battle of Aspromonte. The Swedish press reported constantly on his health and his imprisonment by the troops of Victor Emanuel.³⁷

Norrköping

At the beginning of September a Garibaldi festivity was organized in a field called Strömholmen just outside Norrköping. The festivity started with a concert and continued with tivoli, light shows and fireworks symbolizing the battle of Magenta.³⁸ Just before the fireworks, two vast portraits of Garibaldi, “the greatest warrior in the world”, and Victor Emanuel were unveiled. The dramatical elements were important for entertaining the crowd,

³⁴ See Kurunmäki, 2000, p. 179-195.

³⁵ ÖP, 3/2, 1860. Even though it was described as a spontaneous performance, it can still be considered as having been planned, as they somehow decided how, when and where between the arrival of marchise Migliorati to Helsingborg and the actual serenade in front of the hotel in the evening.

³⁶ L.T, 7/7, 1860.

³⁷ See for example, ÖP, 1862, NA, 1862, AB, 1862, GHT, 1862, ÖC, 1862.

³⁸ The battle of Magenta was fought on 4 June 1859 in the northern part of Italy during the Franco-Piedmont war against Austria. The French victory has been considered important in the path towards unification. See *Britannica Concise Encyclopedia*, 2004, <http://concise.britannica.com/ebc/article?>

by reproducing the battle of Magenta in a symbolic way, it was intended make the public and feel part of an Italian, revolutionary, reality.³⁹

True greatness is not conditioned by success,
but rather by noble and magnanimous ideas,
which inspire the benefactors of mankind.
It is in misfortune, that the splendour
of genius and virtue shine most clearly.⁴⁰

This poem clearly shows how the organizers and participants in the festivity wanted to express their sympathy for Garibaldi. They claimed that Garibaldi was still important for the future unification of Italy and that, after having been injured and captured, he actually would gain greater symbolic power. In part there was a Biblical parallel in the sense that the injured hero in his pain yet has a greater impact on the people than when in full healthy. However, Garibaldi of course was not crucified but injured and captured by the enemy (i.e. the troops of Victor Emanuel) and therefore was sacrificing himself for the common good of the people.⁴¹ The essential idea of true patriotism was that a good citizen should be ready, and not hesitate, to sacrifice himself for the fatherland. The injury of Garibaldi in 1862 was of course a disaster for *I Mille*, but on the other hand it elevated Garibaldi ever more as a hero.⁴²

Stockholm

In Stockholm a meeting was organized on the 23rd of September with the aim of composing an address to Garibaldi. The organizers of the meeting were, among others, the editors August Blanche and August Sohlman.⁴³ Speeches expressed sympathies towards Garibaldi, Italy and its striving for independence from Austria and France,⁴⁴ saying that sympathy and enthusiasm for "the noble hero of Italy" were common feelings throughout

³⁹ Regarding the use of dramatical elements as a way of appeal to the minds of the participants, see further Vernon, 1993, pp. 48ff; De Baecque, 1997, pp. 249f; Friedland, 2002, pp. 160ff.

⁴⁰ NA, 4/10, 1862. These lines were part of the letter which was sent to Garibaldi from the citizens of Stockholm in October 1862.

⁴¹ The troops of Victor Emanuel, it can be argued, were not the enemy as they ought to have been struggling for the same goal. In those circumstances they were however the enemy as Cavour wanted to put an end to Garibaldi's successful, but dangerous, conquering of the South. See Woolf, 1979, pp. 461f.

⁴² See Calabrese, 1982.

⁴³ The other organizers were the businessman L.J. Hierta, notarien C.E. Ljungberg, schoolmaster (magister) K.A. Lindström and the royal secretary Sir P.R. Tersmeden.

⁴⁴ An alliance had been formed between Piedmont and France in 1859 to fight against Austrian dominion in northern Italy. In 1860, when Garibaldi extended his triumphant tour through the south of Italy from Marsala to Calabria and Naples, Cavour was afraid that he would also succeed in entering Rome where French troops were stationed. This would have led to an open conflict. Thus Cavour set up a plan to regain control of the situation by invading the Papal States, the Marches and Umbria before Garibaldi, in order to put an end to his victorious path. Therefore the pro-Garibaldini considered the French troops in Rome and the Pope as enemies, while they were considered as important allies by Cavour and Piedmont. See Woolf, *A history of Italy 1700-1860*, London, 1979, pp. 459ff.; Di Scala, Spencer M., *Italy From Revolution to Republic. 1700 to the Present*, Oxford, 1995.

Sweden, and that the Swedish people knew how “to honour and admire the great Italian national hero, not only when he shines in victory, but also when he, in his noble struggle, has been hit by misfortune and martyrdom”.⁴⁵ The meeting was attended by a large crowd and *Aftonbladet* said that the hall was filled with participants of all social classes. *Post- och Inrikes Tidningar* also reported that the meeting hall was full and estimated the number of participants to have been more than 1.500. It further said that the audience was very active during the speeches as it often cheered and applauded upon hearing the name of Garibaldi.⁴⁶ The first speech was made by August Blanche who compared Garibaldi to the Swedish hero Engelbrekt, saying that “we too have had a Garibaldi, just as noble and rewarded”.⁴⁷ In order to make Sweden fit into a more revolutionary, European, context another speech compared Engelbrekt with Garibaldi. Engelbrekt was seen as a first Garibaldi, who in the Swedish past rebelled against foreign despotic authority. Therefore, in the 1860s Engelbrekt became an apt symbol of the people who, by means of the sharpshooter movement, would struggle for the success of parliamentary reform. Behind this lay the idea that parliamentary reform might have to be carried out by the sharpshooters in a revolutionary upheaval.⁴⁸

As a result of the kind gesture from the inhabitants of Stockholm, Garibaldi wrote a letter to the people of Stockholm from Varignano the 2nd October 1862. He expressed his gratitude to the Scandinavian people who had supported him in his struggle against the kingdom of Naples. The discussion in the latter part of the letter proposed a near utopia, that is, he dreamt of peace on earth and of a life where people would love one another.

When the bells and the guns have become tools of production, then shall the disarmed violence sink into the dark, from where it once started to the despair of mankind, and the aurora of happiness shall clear the horizon, to finally let her beams spread over the world.⁴⁹

Violence was associated with darkness and interpreted as an invention of the Devil whose only goal is to torment mankind. The breaking day, on the other hand, symbolized a wonderful new society that would rise to shine over all oppressed peoples of the world. Such symbols would later be used by the German Labour Movement when it adopted a

⁴⁵ AB, 22/9, 1862.

⁴⁶ Regarding the use of cheering and applause at political meetings as a way of showing approval or contestation, see Vernon, 1993, pp. 107ff.

⁴⁷ *Post-och Inrikes Tidningar*, 24/9, 1862.; Then August Sohlman and Sir P.R Tersmeden performed their speeches, and thereafter it was decided that the address should be written according to what had been said in the different speeches. AB, 24/9, 1862.

⁴⁸ See further *Fäderneslandet*, 1865.

⁴⁹ När klockorna och kanonerna blifwit produktiva verktyg, skall det afwäpnade wäldet nedsjunka i mörkret, hwarifrån det utgick till människornas förtwiflan, och lyckans morgonrodnad skall klargöra synkretsen, för att slutligen låta sina strålar utströmma på hela werlden., NHP, 15/10, 1862.

metaphorical language which had its origin in the 19th century nationalist and revolutionary tradition.

Helsingborg

In Helsingborg a big Festival in October in 1862 was organized in order to honour and pay respect to Garibaldi. As the inhabitants of Helsingborg were members of honour of S.N.I., they claimed to have a special bond with the injured hero. The initiator of the festival was S.H Hafström who, as a member of honour, summoned the people of Helsingborg to a meeting on the organization of the important manifestation. The meeting decided upon a programme which was published in *Öresundsposten* two days before the 5th October when the festival was to take place.⁵⁰ The program published the information that the participants should gather in front of the Municipality hall at noon. Thereafter the order of the procession was indicated, i.e., the places which the different corps and associations were to take in the march.

- 1) The Italian banner, escorted by the Scandinavian banners;
- 2) The bust of Garibaldi surrounded by a guard of honour, will be carried in procession.
- 3) The Sharpshooter Corps with its banner.
- 4) The Music Corps;
- 5) The Festival Committee;
- 6) The Choir Society with its banner;
- 7) The Voluntary Fire Corps with its banners;
- 8) The Journeymen Corps with banner;
- 9) The Artisan Apprentices with banner;
- 10) The School children with its banners;
- 11) The Italian banner; surrounded by the Nordic banners;
- 12) The Burghers and other participants.

After the march through the streets of the town the procession will stop in front of the Municipality, where it will form a square. The address will be read. Hereby the festival will end.⁵¹

⁵⁰ The program was signed by all the initiators of the festivity and among them were persons such as Ewert Michael Sylwander, Carl Evald Hedström, S.H Hafström, Fredrik Borg and Petter Christian Schultz. E.M Sylwander had originally been a journeyman working with silk fabrics in Borgå, in Finland, but after moving to Helsingborg he set up as an independent dyer in 1838. C.E Hedström was a book-keeper and shopkeeper. He was foreman in the Fire Corps, corporal in the home defence, a singer and engaged in the local sharpshooter association. S.H Hafström had been made a burgher as brewer and shopkeeper in 1836. Later on he also became a bank manager. In 1862, he was elected onto the town council. P.C Schultz was a shoemaker in Helsingborg from 1839. He was the founder of the town library and in 1862 he became its librarian. See further *H.H*, VI:1, 1979, pp. 344, 434 and 427-428.

However, as was observed by *Nyare Helsingborgsposten*, the program was rather optimistic as all those mentioned did not in fact take part in the procession. According to *Öresundsposten*, the apprentices (called by *Nyare Helsingborgsposten* "lärgossekarer") marched at the head, followed by the journeymen corps, the music corps, the choir society, the festival committee, the voluntary fire corps and, finally, the bourgeoisie and other participants. *Nyare Helsingborgsposten* did not agree upon this marching order, reporting that the journeymen corps was followed by the choir society, the fire corps and the burghers. In between these corps marched representatives of the festival committee.⁵² The importance of the local burghers' and workers' associations and clubs in organizing a local, civic, festivity should be noticed. Most participants in the processions were members of a corps or an association. The American historian Mary Ryan stresses that American parades, a sort of procession, were also "clearly organized into separate marching units" of different social origins.⁵³

Apart from the participants in the procession and ceremony, the streets were crowded with people. *Öresundsposten* reported that "notwithstanding the long length it took up, the streets were filled with spectators and those who did not participate in the procession showed, from windows and balconies, their interest in the homage to the great hero." *Nyare Helsingborgsposten* mentioned that the procession had been followed by "an innumerable, jubilant crowd".⁵⁴ Mention of spectators on balconies indicates that women were also part of the jubilant crowd.. The Scandinavianists had started to invite women to their meetings already in the 1840s and 1850s, in opposition to the desire of the royal government. The presence of women thus had political importance when the Student Scandinavian Movement organized their meetings for a Scandinavian union, which also did not please the government. Student-Scandinavists had clear ideas about letting women participate as spectators from windows along the streets. Women should be part of the public drama as „object and subject, symbol and actor“. The window was the borderline between the public and the private sphere. Windows as well as stands functioned as a protection against an outer, dangerous and immoral world and thus they had a strong symbolic value in political ritual.⁵⁵

The Garibaldi festival in Helsingborg was a major event crowded with people. That the local people payed "homage" to Garibaldi by watching the procession can also be seen as to confirm the content and the symbolic structure of the festivity. The inhabitants of Helsingborg,

⁵¹ ÖP, 3/10, 1862.

⁵² ÖP, resp. NHP, 6/10, 1862.

⁵³ Ryan, 1989, pp. 133f.

⁵⁴ ÖP resp. N.H-P, 6/10, 1862. „oberäknat den långa sträcka, det upptog, woro gatorna fyllda med åskadare, och de som ej deltog i tåget wisade från fönster och balkonger sitt intresse för hyllningen åt den store hjälten“.

⁵⁵ Nilsson, 2000, pp. 133, 141-143.; see also Porciani, 1997.; Tornbjør, 2002, pp. 53 and 122.

by their presence, expressed political and social identity. The streets and main square of Helsingborg was a public arena where a social drama was performed.⁵⁶

The staging of this drama used Garibaldi as its main character and revolutionary symbol in order to tell a story also about the local, social context. That context should be seen as a way for local inhabitants to present their position within society and at the same time express support for Garibaldi and his national movement. In this way, they can be considered to have explicitly taken a standpoint for a national democratic movement in Sweden. Even though this might be an over-interpretation, it should be considered that the local, liberal, inhabitants of Helsingborg had certain ideas in organizing a festival in honour of Garibaldi: the Garibaldi festival was, of course, also a way for the inhabitants to gather and have fun but they could have done that without adopting Garibaldi as the main symbol. Therefore, I believe that they wanted to express something, a political opinion, about their own society which in those years meant parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union.

The public reading of the festivity was important as it made people aware of belonging to a certain social context. Furthermore, the newspapers reported views, or stories, on what happened, which had a general impact even on people who did not attend these kinds of public, civic, rites. Thus, one should bear in mind that there existed many interpretations of one and the same event depending upon the social context of the person who participated, acted as a spectator or read about the procession in the local newspaper.⁵⁷

The two newspapers of Helsingborg, *Öresundsposten* and *Nyare Helsingborgsposten*, had different views and stories about the same event. On the 6th October *Nyare Helsingborgsposten* described the Garibaldi festival in a somewhat ironic way. For instance, it said that the decision to send an address to Garibaldi was ratified unanimously and that the participants “even cheered nine times” for the Italian hero and with that “Garibaldi ought to have been pleased”. The correspondent continued in saying that to run around the town “with music and banners” possibly could have been fun for the school children and the youth corps. Every other association, however, “shared the opinion” of *Nyare Helsingborgsposten* (i.e. that it was a foolish celebration) by not taking part in the festivity.⁵⁸ *Öresundsposten* therefore openly criticized *Nyare Helsingborgsposten* for its attempt to unlegitimately ridicule the journeymen and artisan apprentices because of their participation in the festivity. *Öresundsposten*

⁵⁶ See further Hunt, 1984, pp. 52-55, 123.; and Chapter III.

⁵⁷ Cf. De Baecque, 1997 pp. 250f; Newman, 1997, pp 1-15; Gunn, 2000, pp. 160ff.

⁵⁸ NHP, 6/10, 1862.

furthermore resented its colleague as a representative of the local conservative "party" and for its way of judging the local working class.⁵⁹

In the festival a bust of Garibaldi was carried in the procession, surrounded by a guard of honour, thus becoming the centre of the whole drama. In France and Argentina revolutionary ceremonies were often organized around a national trophy or banner, as the fatherland (*la patrie*) often identified itself with war symbols of different kinds.⁶⁰ The bust of Garibaldi thus symbolized the fatherland (Italy) for which he was fighting as well as the fatherland of the participants in the procession, namely Sweden. In short, Garibaldi symbolized the essence of a liberal nation. Therefore, he could be taken as an example by the Swedish national liberal movement in its struggle for democratic freedom and, especially, by the Swedish sharpshooter movement, which claimed to protect the Swedish fatherland as well as to be the voice of the people on the issue of a democratic representation.⁶¹

The participants were singing and playing "patriotic and liberty songs, alternating with brass music" while they were marching through the streets of Helsingborg.⁶² When the procession returned to the town hall it gathered, together with the crowd, in front of a platform to listen to editor Fredrik Borg reading the address to Garibaldi. The festivity then ended with cheering, fanfares and the singing of "the French liberty song".⁶³ This way of ending a festivity with cheering, fanfares and singing was part of a general (European, or even world wide) structure of how to perform a public and civic rite. The performance of patriotic and liberty songs was a sign of the expression of strong national identity as well as liberal values. Importance was given to Sweden as a nation with loyal inhabitants wanting a free, democratic and modern country. It was intended express that Sweden was a nation among other free nations and, in this context, freedom and nation should be understood as the same thing. To play the Marseillaise was a way of confirming the importance of democratic values in society.⁶⁴

Aspromonte

After Garibaldi's injury at Aspromonte, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* reported in October 1862 that the hero recovered and that, even though imprisoned, he received medical care by female nurses, "who undeniably are the best". This was the general task of the women within

⁵⁹ ÖP, 8/10, 1862.

⁶⁰ See further Verdo, 1996, pp. 401-429 and Hunt, 1984, pp. 57-63.

⁶¹ See also Abrahamsson, 1990, p?.

⁶² „fosterländska och frihetssånger, omwexlande med bleckinstrument-musik“. ÖP, 6/10, 1862.

⁶³ ÖP, 6/10, 1862. „den franska frihetssången“.

⁶⁴ Regarding importance of songs in political ritual see further Mason, 1996, pp. 15ff.; Nilsson, 2000.

the nation i.e. to educate, nurse and give support to the men who had to defend the fatherland. The paper continued with criticism of attempts to denigrate “this man”. Such attempts failed completely as the “Hero has become a giant, while all the others have become pygmies.”⁶⁵ When Garibaldi was moved from Varignano to la Spezia later the same year, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* reported that the boat was decorated with flowers and laurel crowns. The royal marines rose arms to honour the Italian hero and bands played fanfares. Soldiers and civil spectators were crying when they saw Garibaldi. In La Spezia a huge crowd wanted to “pay their respectful homage to the injured hero, and he returned the greetings with that gentle and benevolent smile with which a gracious father answers tokens of respect from his beloved children.”⁶⁶

This was a clear change in ways of presenting Garibaldi. When he was fighting with his people’s army in the south of Italy they were all brothers struggling for liberation and unification. After the injury at Aspromonte in 1862, he was glorified and put into a more traditional and symbolic context as a father respected by his children, the Italian people.

The Italian scholar Omar Calabrese has stressed the contemporary, conscious, creation of Garibaldi’s public image and ways of presenting him before the masses as if he was a heroic character in a historical novel. The contemporary literature constructed an image of Garibaldi’s life as if it would have been an adventurous novel. The similarities with fictive characters such as Ivanhoe, Robin Hood and Sandokan are striking.⁶⁷ Garibaldi was thus described as a man “dedicated to sacrifice; courageous; unharmed by betrayal; a man touched by destiny and aware of the mission that he is pushed to fulfil, a man who personified” something that had already been written, from which it was impossible to escape. Yet, at the same time, he was described to be the author and “smith” of his own destiny.⁶⁸

The Italian historian Rossella Certini confirms this opinion about the construction of the image of Garibaldi. At the same time she stresses how Garibaldi himself was very much involved in this mythic construction. Certini says: “...Garibaldi was the author, in first person, of the birth and the rooting of his myth, up until the point where he transformed himself from

⁶⁵ N.Y.T, 4/10, 1862. Regarding women as mothers and educators see further, Hunt, 1992.; Tornbjer, 2002, pp. 33f.; Mosse, 1996, pp. 1-15.; Porciani, 1997, pp. 89f.

⁶⁶ N.Y.T, 15/11, 1862. Regarding a brotherhood society versus patriarchal society, see further Hunt, 1984, pp. 33-34.; Hunt 1992; Tornbjer, 2002, pp. 45-50.; Landes, 2002, p. 89.

⁶⁷ Sandokan is a rebel pirate, a hero, who fights for the independence of the smaller empires in Malaysia against British colonial dominion. He fights with the support of his faithful army of tigers „tigrotti“ who follow him through a long line of adventurous events. The woman in his life is the beautiful Marianna, which of course leads to thoughts of the French Revolution and Marianne, its female image of liberty. Sandokan was created by the Italian writer Emilio Salgari in the 1880s. See <http://www.sandokan.it>

⁶⁸ Calabrese, 1982, p. 34. Beales!

warrior and patriot, into an *exemplary hero*".⁶⁹ The way of describing him as the great hero injured while sacrificing himself for the people fits this theme.

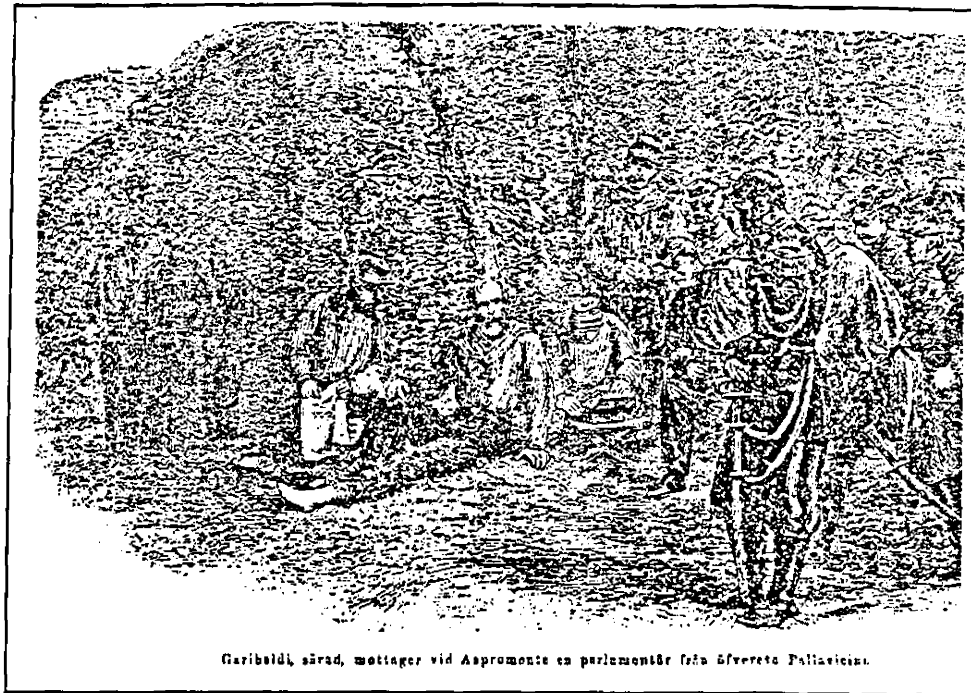


Figure 1 This image of Garibaldi was published in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* on the 4th of October in 1862.

In April 1864, Garibaldi went to London where he was welcomed and venerated as a new Christ or a Roman emperor. *Fäderneslandet* reported a great “theatrical spectacle” in which Garibaldi, the “Italian hero of freedom” made triumphant entry into the city and was greeted by the “powerful” English people. This was, again, an example of how Garibaldi was worshipped also in Britain and how he, in general, had a strong symbolic impact on domestic politics in Europe. The article further said that no European nobleman, king or emperor would have been able to match the splendour and greatness of Garibaldi on that day. The great hero Garibaldi was a “worker’s son” and he was therefore struggling on the people’s side against oppressors and dictators. *Fäderneslandet* described Garibaldi as a genius, a hero, a “noble citizen”, a “man of the people”, a “fighter for national independence” and a “democrat”.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ „...Garibaldi fu artefice in prima persona della nascita e del radicamento del suo mito, fino al punto da trasformarsi da guerriero e patriota, in *eroe esemplare*“. See Certini, R., *Il mito di Garibaldi. La formazione dell'immaginario popolare nell'Italia unita*, Milano, 2000, p. 86.

⁷⁰ *Fäd.*, 23/4, 1864. Regarding the importance of dramatical effects, see further chap III.



Figure 2 This is another drawing from Ny Illustrerad Tidning on 15th of November 1862 about the welcoming of the injured Garibaldi.

Symbolic language

Symbolic content lay not only in the performance of a ritual or a procession, or in the use of decorations and other attributes. The language used to express the central symbolic and political messages in a speech, or in a newspaper report, was also itself central. Different symbols and metaphors were used in order to emphasize the importance of social changes. The use of symbolic language was nothing new because it had been used over centuries in order to describe and express political and social circumstances. The use of linguistic metaphors in a more revolutionary context was, however, something that was accentuated by the French Revolution.⁷¹

In the following analysis of symbolic language in connection with the festivities and celebrations in honour of Garibaldi in Sweden, the symbols and metaphors will be divided

into three different categories. These are *Nature*, *Religious metaphors*, and *Garibaldi, a warrior and hero of the fatherland*. The three groups of metaphors were bricks for the construction of a story. It will then appear clearly that the contemporary revolutionary hero was used in a Swedish cultural and political context in order to appeal to the Swedish people.

Nature

The language of nature has been used since ancient times for metaphors in arts and writings, but in the French Revolution natural metaphors and symbols were used mainly to transmit political messages. In the nineteenth century Schlegel wrote that already in ancient India the people considered the world a place where light and benevolent powers fought deepest darkness.⁷² The romanticists studied the ancient religions of the Indoeuropean people and they described cults which worshiped benevolent light. They believed the center of the ancient Germanic religion to be the struggle of light against darkness. In the nineteenth century, it was generally believed that the good powers in the world were connected to a God of light, and of the sun, who was fighting the evil powers associated with darkness.⁷³

Light was often referred to as an expression of freedom, truth, and belief in the future. The traditional image was of someone struggling to find his way out of the dark towards the light. The Revolution was seen as a breaking-up and thus concepts such as light and awakening (the rising sun, the peoples' awakening) became standard. Liberation was another concept that could be characterized by, for example, slaves tearing off their chains.⁷⁴ In socialist symbolic language, a synonym for dark was often winter, which symbolized someone being chained to a heavy burden, such as despotism. Spring, in opposition to winter, was connected to the progress of socialism, that is, the time when ideas were sown so that they later could be reaped. Spring, as well as early morning, was considered symbols of change and of the beginning of something new, thus the collapse the bourgeoisie which would make way for new socialist values was represented by a sudden tempest, a volcanic eruption,

⁷¹ Cf. Hunt, 1984, pp. 33-35.; see further chap III.

⁷² Sun and fire were the elements through which godliness appeared to the people in the nature surrounding them. See further Arvidsson, S., *Ariska idoler: den indoeuropeiska mytologin som ideologi och vetenskap*, Eslöv, 2000, pp. 78f.

⁷³ Arvidsson, 2000, pp. 78-79.

⁷⁴ Verdo, 1996, p. 420.

or the rising sun chasing away the dark.⁷⁵ Arian myths were also based on the struggle between summer and winter, and together with concepts such as the rebirth of nature, they were seen as different versions of the ancient myth where daylight fought against the darkness of the night.⁷⁶

Below, the shady despots are described in opposition to the freedom-loving carriers of light.

Lamorcière, Lanza and whatever they are called, who's shady eyes must be blinded by the Italian flash of lightning for freedom, heralding a clearer sky and cleaner air than the suffocating and poisonous atmosphere, that for so long has hovered over the political horizon of beautiful Italy.⁷⁷

Despotism and oppression are described as toxic and polluting the atmosphere while, on the other hand, liberty is associated with lightning that cleans the air and makes way for a „clearer sky“.⁷⁸

In a poem on the defeat of Garibaldi at Aspromonte, the sea, another metaphor taken from the nature, was used to describe the strength and diffusion of liberty.

O freedom, lead from the heart of God
To rush in every human vein!
For thou hast the sea no breadth,
And the earth hast no antipodes.
Wherever thou lift the fighter's arm
Against those who represses human right,
The pulse is high, the soul warm,
And the cry is ringing: Victory! Happiness!⁷⁹

The word freedom was made incarnate so as to describe its different functions, that is, how it rushes in the human veins, hastening the pulse, causing a fever that reaches into the soul. To use metaphors alluding to the human body and its organic condition was common in the analyzed texts in this thesis.⁸⁰ Next, a short love poem to Garibaldi proves how the longing for freedom was incarnated.

⁷⁵ Paetau, 1990, pp. 448f.

⁷⁶ Arvidson, 2000, p. 93.

⁷⁷ Lamorcière, Lanza och hvad de allt beta, hvilkas ljusskygga ögon maste bländas af den italienska frihetens ljungeld, bebådande en klarare himmel och renare luft än den qvalmiga och giftiga atmosfer, som så länge rufvat öfver det sköna Italiens politiska horisont., Fäd., 6/6, 1860.

⁷⁸ Cf. Paetau, 1990, 429-468, regarding different symbols and metaphors.

⁷⁹ ÖP, 1/10, 1862. O frihet, ur Guds hjerta ledd

Att strömma i hwar menskoåder!

För dig har hafwet ingen bredd,

Och jorden inga antipoder

Ehwar du lyfter kämpens arm

Mot dem som menskorätt förtrycka,

Går pulsen hög, blir själen warm,

Och ropet skallar: seger! lycka!

⁸⁰ Abrahamsson, 1990.

Nor is Aetna burning, more warm.
 Nor the feeling of freedom in thy breast,
 Than the love in Elma's breast
 For Garibaldi, at who's voice
 A people - that recently was reduced
 In slavish bond - has awakened
 And in hot blood baths have drowned
 The despot and his hired troop.⁸¹

Metaphors of awakening and liberation from slavery are also apparent in this poem. The poem is a good example of the more expressive language in *Fäderneslandet*, since it talked about slaves who were liberating themselves from their bonds and about despots who precipitated a blood bath. Poems written as spontaneous dedications to Garibaldi were of course very frequent in Italy, and an example can be seen in which a female writer, Eleonora Derby, wrote *Un Evviva a Garibaldi*.

Star of Italy, farewell, farewell!
 A woman said - I shout that too.
 Yes, a star in peacetime and a lightning in war.
 You are the star of Italian land!
 The star surrounded by the bright halo.
 And flood the whole world with light!.⁸²

Garibaldi was thus described as the shining star of Italy, calm and wise in peace but strong as lightning in war. The ideal of patriotism was clear, and further on in the poem Garibaldi was described as the star which "drowns" the entire world in light. Light is here to be associated with freedom, independence and hope for the future.⁸³

The volcano Etna was often used in these poetic verses in order to stress the ardent feelings that the people had for independence and freedom. The next verse is taken from the

⁸¹ Fäd., 9/6, 1860. This love poem was written in connection with a contribution to the Garibaldi fund.

Ej brinner Aetna mera varm.
 Ej frihetskänslan i ditt bröst,
 Än kärleken i Elmas barm
 För Garibaldi, vid hvars röst
 Ett folk - som låg helt nyss försämnt
 I slavisk boja - vaknat upp
 Och uti heta blodbad dränkt
 Despoten och hans legda trupp.

⁸² Stella d'Italia, addio, addio!
 Disse una donna - lo grido anch'io.
 Sì, stella in pace e fulmine in guerra
 L'astro tu sei dell'Italia terra!
 L'astro che aureola chiara circonda
 E tutto il mondo di luce inonda!.

Poem written by Eleonora Derby, quoted in Calabrese, 1982, p. 59.

⁸³ Cf. Paetau, 1990, pp. 429-468.; Calabrese, 1982, pp. 98f.

poem „Song to Sicily“ that was written to be read at a fund raising soiree in Göteborg in June in 1860.

A flame from the shore of Sicily
Just lit. Was it the eruption of Aetna?
The volcano, that you saw?
No, it was only an incendiary.
That was lit by a cruel barbarian
A king with bloodstained intent.⁸⁴

The nation was described as a body with a heart and soul and when, for example, a revolt erupted, the explanation was that the nation suffered from different diseases.

As well as one with impunity „gives a lesson“ to a man, who alone is the conscience of a whole people, and as well as these bullets, which have hurt You, not, in any case, would be as many tough lashes, directed towards the heart of Italy.⁸⁵

Garibaldi was at one with the nation. When the great hero was wounded, this was a blow against the heart of the Italian nation.

The French Revolution broke with the past and with patriarchal models of society. Female figures began to be used in order to symbolize power and authority. It was possible to talk about the children and the sons of the Republic, and of compatriots as brothers, but there no longer existed a father figure in the republican context. The king had been replaced by an image of a woman or, more precisely, by a mother of the Nation.⁸⁶ The revolutionary habit of presenting the nation as a female character had its origins in Greek mythology. The Greek goddesses often symbolised specific virtues, and Athena especially acted as a model for female symbols in nineteenth century Europe. At the same time as the nation was seen as a woman, there still remained the symbol of the people as equal brothers and thus, as time went by, women again faded into the background while society and its rhetorical symbols became dominated by men just as during the Old Regime.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ ÖP, 27/6, 1860. En låga från Siciliens strand
Nyss lyfte. War det Aetnas brand?
Wulkanens, som du såg?
Nej, det en mordbrand endast war.
Som tändes af en rå barbar
- En kung med blodig håg.

⁸⁵ ÖP, 6/10, 1862. Liksom om man ostraffat „gifwer en lexa“ åt en man, hwilken ensam är ett helt folks medvetande, och liksom om dessa kulor, hwilka sårat Eder, icke i hwad fall som helst, woro lika många sega slag, riktade åt själva Italens hjerta!

⁸⁶ Hunt, 1984, pp. 31-32.

⁸⁷ Tornbjör, 2002, p. 74.; Landes, 2001, pp. 81ff.

This female revolutionary point of view is found also in the Swedish newspaper texts on Garibaldi, which often describe the nation as a female figure.

Now have you gathered again, to give moral support by your wishes to a good cause, to the true unity of the Italian nation, to Italia, ruler in her house.⁸⁸

The article talks about a 'Lady Italy' just as in Sweden there was a mother Svea. Female characters signified stability, respectability and eternity, and female national symbols were understood as "passive and retrospective", in opposition to active and progressive male symbols.⁸⁹

Religious Metaphors

Religion is always present in the texts inasmuch as different religious symbols legitimized actions before the people. The different political actors and heroes were put in a religious context and described as a second Christ, a Messiah or prophet.⁹⁰ In the period of the Revolution in, for example Argentina, religion also had an important task in the festivities. Priests glorified the key persons of the Revolution in their sermons and turned their preaching into holy words for the new regime. In this way, the divine kingdom was unified with the revolutionary one in combined celebrations. The divine ceremonies descended to earth.⁹¹ Thus revolutionary messages were continuously wrapped up in religious garb, a technique to persuade the people to accept new ideas. This technique was used also in the Swedish liberal newspaper texts in order to convince the people that political changes were needed.

Omar Calabrese stresses that if Garibaldi, both in public and in private, rejected Catholic religious power; his image nonetheless was surrounded with religious connotations and parallels. However, it was not a doctrinaire religious image but rather a popular and down

⁸⁸ NHP, 15/10, 1862. Nu har du ånyo samlats, för att skänka det moraliska stödet af dina önsksningar åt en god sak, åt italienska nationens sanna enhet, åt Italia, herrskarinna i sitt hus.

⁸⁹ Tornbjör, 2002, p. 74.

⁹⁰ Pactau, 1990, p. 450. The Lasalle cult in Germany made the language of religious images very popular in a later period of the 19th century. Lasalle was a German socialist in the 19th century and one of the founders of the German Labour movement. See *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1991, vol. 7, p. 173.

⁹¹ Verdo, 1996, pp. 422f.

to earth representation of Garibaldi as a Christ who helped the people to fight injustice at the same time as he brought them miracles in his attempt to change society (il Cristo dei miracoli). There was thus a subtle inter-mingling and transition from a secularized hero and warrior to representation of a Christian mythologic figure. Calabrese says that an answer to the questionable interrelation between pagan and Christian images was that both built on premises of mythic faith. People believed in, and trusted, Garibaldi and they therefore could be described as praying for him to succeed in his sacrifice for the liberation of the southern parts of Italy.⁹² This I will try and show in the extracts below.

To compare Garibaldi with Christ was a recurrent theme in the different texts, in particular in connection to his injury at Aspromonte.

The saviour of Naples had been captured by Sardinian hands, taken on board on one of the ships belonging to the king of Italy and thrown into prison.⁹³

Garibaldi is mentioned as the saviour of Naples which leads to thoughts of the figure of Christ as the great saviour, sent by God to the people. The capture of Garibaldi and his suffering is connected to the suffering of Jesus. Christ was the Saviour of the people and he sacrificed himself for their sake. It was precisely this image of Garibaldi that was intended to be communicated.⁹⁴

At the Garibaldi festivities in Helsingborg in 1862, Borg talked about those who had deserted and betrayed Garibaldi in a way that makes parallels with Jesus and Pontus Pilate even more obvious.

There was, so it was assured, in the Italian army an officer, so indifferent before the whole world's judgement as to in cold blood order a fratricide according to the regulations prescribed by law.⁹⁵

In the third stanza of a poem published in *Landskrona Tidning* in 1862, Garibaldi was mentioned as the rejected son of Italy. He shed his blood for the sake of the people and thus the similarities with Christ became clearer.

What have you now for all the blood you shed,

⁹² Calabrese, 1982, pp. 98f.

⁹³ ÖP, 6/10, 1862. „Neapels befriare hade blifwit gjord till fånge af sardinska händer, förd ombord på ett af Italiens skepp och kastad i fängelse.“

By that time Cavour thought that Garibaldi had been given too much power and he saw his own position threatened. Thus Cavour started a counteraction against Garibaldi and sent troops to Rome to challenge the peoples' armies of Garibaldi, hence the expression that he was captured by „Sardinian hands“.

⁹⁴ Viroli, 1995, pp. 90ff.; Calabrese, 1982, pp. 98f.

⁹⁵ ÖP, 6/10, 1862. Det fanns, så försäkrade man, i den italienska armeén en officer, nog likgiltig för hela världens omdöme, för att kallblodigt kommandera ett brodermord i laga ordning.

You noble people by the fairy shore of Adria?
Behold, him, who magnanimous has broken your bonds,
Bleeding to death in the bonds of captivity!
Its greatest son Italy has rejected,
Against its own blood it has lifted its hand!
But still in prison, yes still in death
Shall he command the fates of his Italy.⁹⁶

Although Garibaldi had been rejected during his life on earth, his actions would still govern the future after his death; he became a myth. Also, Jesus was still among the people and did not abandon them although they had deserted him while he was alive. Such Christian metaphors were important in order to stress the need for patriotism among the people. A good citizen was a person with a true patriotic character. Such a citizen would, therefore, not hesitate to sacrifice himself for the sake of the nation. Pagan and Christian myths were constantly mixed in order to exalt patriotism.⁹⁷

In the greeting that Garibaldi sent to the Swedish people in November 1862, he used words that were strongly reminiscent of something that Christ could have said to his followers.

My Fatherland will achieve its glorious mission when the whole honest conscience of Europe says to its sons – „Be at the head! I am with You!...“⁹⁸

The conscience of an honest Europe could be seen as a synonym for Christ, who told his disciples on earth that he would be with them in fortune as well as in misfortune, but it could also symbolize that the conscience of a new, free Europe made of a male alliance of brothers. The parallel to Christian teachings and history was always present in these symbolic messages.

At first sight, the metaphors of light versus darkness can be considered as part of a symbolic language referring to the nature. The dichotomy of light and darkness are, however, also part of Christian symbolic language as a way to discuss good versus evil.

⁹⁶ L.T, 7/10, 1862. Hwad har du nu för allt det blod du gjutit,
Du ädla folk wid Adrias sköna strand?
Si, han, som hugstor dina bojor brutit,
Förblöder uti fångenskapens band!
Sin störste son Italien har förskjutit,
Emot sitt eget blod det lyft sin hand!
Dock än i fängelset, ja än i dden
Skall han bestämma sitt Italiens öden.

⁹⁷ See Viroli, 1995, pp. 95ff.; Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 179-188.; Calabrese, 1982, pp. 97-107.

⁹⁸ ÖP, 10/11, 1862. Mitt fädernesland kan gå sin ärofulla bestämmelse till möte, då hela det ärliga Europas medvetande säger till dess söner – „I spetsen! Jag är med Eder!...“.

The words „I am with you“ can be considered as having their origin in the phrase „I am with you until the end of days“ (Ty jag skall vara med er alla dagar intill tidens ände) from Christianity and the final judgement of God on all people at the end of history. See *Britannica Concise Encyclopedia*, 2004.

And she is a much happier phenomenon, as we still stand by the breaking of that day, that as the promised herald shall, in light, rise over the world...⁹⁹

The "promised herald" meant the return of Christ to earth. When that happened, a new light should rise over the world and there would be a new beginning.¹⁰⁰

Also the next quotation shows how, in symbolic language, light was associated with liberty.

But if it is insanity, a madness to struggle, suffer and sacrifice oneself for what is noble and right, for the sake of light and liberty, what is then reason, what is then wisdom?¹⁰¹

Darkness is described as insanity in opposition to reason and light. When the struggle for reason and light wins, there will be an awakening which will bring a new fresh start to the world.¹⁰² The concept of dichotomies can also be considered from a structuralist linguistic point of view. „Semantic oppositions of basic meaning“ such as light/dark or high/low, apart from their grammatical meaning, can play important roles in the different ways of manifesting „the mythology of language“. Such oppositions are important particularly in poetic language.¹⁰³

In addition to christian language, symbols as well as metaphors originating in pagan tradition, such as Roman and Nordic gods, are used in the texts. Among many others, I have chosen an excerpt from a poem about Garibaldi in *Landskrona Tidning*.

Is it after all possible, Garibaldi captured?
Has he, the mighty, laid down his sword?
So are many asking, wondering and startled,
Who, with anxiety, have followed the heros bold journey.
Is then the star of Italy fallen.
Who gaily and with admiration has filled a world?
Has the knight of Rome, so sublime and renowned,
In the middle of his victorious path been stopped?¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Och hon är en så mycket gladare företeelse, som vi ännu stå vid morgonväkten till den dag, som löftet bebådar skall i ljus uppgå öfver världen.../, AB, 7/6, 1860.

¹⁰⁰ Arvidsson, 2000, pp.?

¹⁰¹ Men om det är ett wansinne, en galenskap att strida, lida och uppoffra sig för det ädla och rätta, för ljusets och frihetens sak, hwad är då förnuft, hwad är då klokskap?, ÖP, 1/10, 1862.

¹⁰² Paetau, 1990 pp. 429-468.

¹⁰³ *Dialogues*, Roman Jakobsen and Krystyna Pomorska, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 55.

¹⁰⁴ L.T, 7/10, 1862 (the first stanza). Är det wäl möjligt, Garibaldi fången?

Har han, den wäldige, lagt ned sitt swärd?
Så frågar undrande och häpen mången,
Som följt med oro hjeltens djerfwa färd.
Är då Italiens stjerna nedergången.
Som gladt och med beundran fyllt en world?
Är Romas Riddare, så hög och frejdad,
Mitt på sin sköna segerbana hejdad?

Garibaldi is compared to the Greek or Roman warrior gods, Ares and Mars. The poet is writing about a star who has filled a world with admiration and a knight who has been stopped in his path.¹⁰⁵ The comparison was probably made deliberately to call up images of Garibaldi as a half divine, half human figure, who should live forever among the people, though he in reality would die in combat. However, it was important that Garibaldi was not only described as an unattainable symbolic figure, but was also the companion of the people, and this made it important to emphasise his contact with the people, i.e. to describe him as human.¹⁰⁶

/.../he belongs to and shall always do so, not only his own Fatherland, but every free and enlightened people. That is why also we wish to intertwine a small flower in that unwithering civic garland, that Garibaldi won both as a hero and as a human being.¹⁰⁷

Garibaldi was a citizen of the free fatherland with its free people. He was both a human being and a godly hero.

In another stanza of the *Landskrona Tidning* poem, the poet used pagan symbols again, but this time mixed with metaphors from nature and Christianity.

Yes the brother of lightning has just brought a message,
Sad news, to all the corners of the world:
The man, who subdues the vile Bomba dynasty,
Is disgracefully captured like a defeated bear;
The arm, that boldest brandished the banner of freedom,
Is hurt – clipped are the wings of the eagle of Caprera,
And the prince of darkness is laughing, the Pope rejoices
And – the despot of France doubles his army.¹⁰⁸

The brother of lightning alluded to thunder that, as it struck, carried the dreadful message that Garibaldi was defeated. In the Nordic pagan myths it was Thor, the Aesir god, who swung his hammer. It is also noticeable that Garibaldi was compared to a „captured bear“ and his wounds to an „eagle with the wings clipped“. The different symbolic themes were a mix of

¹⁰⁵ Here one could also think of a medieval knight serving his feudal master in different wars always sacrificing himself for the sake of his master. See Banti, 2000, p?.

¹⁰⁶ See Verdo, 1996, pp. 401-429.; Banti, 2000, p?.; Calabrese, 1982, ?

¹⁰⁷ ÖP, 6/10, 1862. /.../han tillhör och alltid skall tillhöra, ej blott sitt eget fosterland, utan hvarje upplyst och fritt folk. Det är och därför äfwen vi önska få infläta en ringa blomma i den oförwänsliga medborgarekrans, Garibaldi wunnit både som hjälte och menniska.

¹⁰⁸ L.T, 7/10, 1862. Ja blixstens broder nyss ett bud har bringat,

Ett sorgebud, till werldens alla hörn:

Den man, som Bombas usla ätt betvingar,

Är nesligt fången som en holmad björn;

Den arm, som djerfwast frihetsfanan swingat,

Är sårad – wingklippt är Capreras örn,

Och mörkets furste skrattar, påfwen jublar

Och - Frankrikes despot sin här fördubblar.

Christian, pagan and natural metaphors. King Bomba was the Prince of Darkness, the devil himself, which carried a meaning in connection with the Popes' gaiety at the capture of Garibaldi. The Pope and the King of Naples gathered on the same side against Garibaldi and obviously the poet considered this a satanic alliance.¹⁰⁹

In the poem, Napoleon III is referred to as the „despot of France“ who strenghtens his army as a response to Garibaldi's capture. A week before, at the festivity in Norrköping, the battle of Magenta had, on the contrary, been celebrated in support of France helping Italy against Austria. France was, however, allied with Cavour and Piedmont in 1859, which meant that it was an enemy of Garibaldi and his troops in 1862. Garibaldi wanted to end his march in Rome in order to defeat the Pope, who was considered a last hindrance to unification. Cavour, on the other hand, anticipated with his own invasion of the central regions and the Papal states in order to put an end to Garibaldi and his success.¹¹⁰

In the quotation below, Garibaldi is ascribed a series of attributes regarding his efforts in favour of Italian independence.

Here may be enough remember, that if ever magnificent heroism has been penetrated by ones ardent love of freedom and the Fatherland, if ever deep honesty has been united with magnanimous self-sacrifice, it is with the supreme prisoner in Varignano.¹¹¹

Garibaldi is described as so kind-hearted and self-sacrificing that he seems quite unreal. To describe him as a divinity, a symbol for the new fatherland, was probably deliberate. Many of the key words from the French Revolution and the Argentinian independence movement, such as heroism, patriotism, freedom, honesty and self-sacrifice, are also present in the text above. They were also words which defined the essential characteristics of a true patriot who would be able to work for the well-being of the fatherland.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Regarding to struggle between the powers of light and darkness seen from a diachronical point of view, cf. Arvidsson, 2000, pp. 78ff.; Paetau, 1990, pp. 429-468.

¹¹⁰ See Woolf, 1979, pp. 259ff.

¹¹¹ ÖP, 6/10, 1862. Här må vara nog minnas, att om någonsin storartadt hjeltmod varit genomträngdt af ens glödande fosterland- och frihetskärlek, om någonsin djup ärlighet varit förenad med högsinnad sjelfuppooffring, är det hos den upphöjde fången i Varignano.

¹¹² See further Mosse, 1996, pp. 1-15.; Hunt, 1984, pp. 20-21.; Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 183-188, 192-195.

Garibaldi, a warrior and hero of the fatherland

During the French Revolution, revolutionary key words were for example fatherland (“*patrie*”), constitution, law, regeneration, virtue and vigilance. They were inherited concepts that were given new political significance, and therefore became almost holy mantras for the new central power.¹¹³ Words such as fatherland and virtue became important concepts for a true patriot, and were later to play a significant role in liberation processes in other countries.

The military element and the fatherland were two concepts which were intertwined in, for example, the Argentinian festivities, since wars were fought in order to strengthen the independence of the fatherland. Officers and soldiers became the true patriots, incorporating virtues such as honour and stability. Religion was a third element, having the task of protecting soldiers’ efforts, and priests preached to the people that it was an honour to enlist in the army and fight for their country. Sacred battle characterized the true spirit of the new regime.¹¹⁴ In the texts below, Garibaldi was seen as a great warrior who fought a series of battles for his fatherland and its people.

As a soldier, *Fäderneslandet* considered him to be;

Wise, brave and for the Fatherland an ardent warrior who puts his hand to work.¹¹⁵

In this context, Rossella Certini indeed stresses how Garibaldi in his memoirs describes the struggles and conflicts in a very “suggestive” and “colourful” way. Garibaldi is the hero who do not hesitate to turn against cowardice and injustices and who fights for „the right cause, for the freedom of oppressed peoples, for democracy.“¹¹⁶ Thus Garibaldi’s own view of himself fitted very well with the opinion of *Fäderneslandet* and it can be taken as one small example of how there existed a general mythic narrative on Garibaldi.

In his address to Garibaldi in 1862, Fredrik Borg started with a description of Garibaldi as a warrior.

The bravest among the brave, on his way to Rome to complete his deed, to complete the glorious and bright history of the new Italy.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Hunt, 1984, p. 20.

¹¹⁴ Verdo, 1996, pp. 423ff.

¹¹⁵ Fäd., 20/6, 1860. „...klok, tapper och af fosterlandsnit brinnande krigare som lägger handen wid verket.“

¹¹⁶ „...combate per la giusta causa, per la libertà dei popoli oppressi, per la democrazia.“ See Certini, 2000, p. 89.

¹¹⁷ ÖP, 6/10, 1862. Den tappreste bland de tappre, på marsch mot Rom för att fullborda sitt verk, för att fullständiggöra det nya Italiens ärofulla och lysande historia.

Thus he was considered to be the greatest of all soldiers, although he had been wounded at Aspromonte.

Nyare Helsingborgsposten, the rival newspaper of Borg and *Öresundsposten*, also described Garibaldi as a hero. It, however, considered him to be finished in terms of real Italian political events.

His name shall remain on peoples lips; his courage, his rare altruism and enthusiastic love for freedom and for Italy have gained him his place among the heroes of the world.¹¹⁸

His greatness laid in his „poetical apparition“. Therefore, it would be best if he could pass away at the height of his popularity.

/.../ seen from a poetical point of view, maybe it would have been best for him if he now, at the height of his honour met the death of a warrior.¹¹⁹

Nyare Helsingborgsposten more or less wanted Garibaldi dead, since they claimed that his revolutionary character had done enough damage in Italy so far. They wished for some peace and quiet.

That Garibaldi had been wounded and thereby suffered for the people's sake rendered him a martyr since, at that time, it was uncertain whether he would survive. This is expressed in the following poem from *Landskrona Tidning*.

Hail to thee, martyr, the joy and honour of Italy,
Its pride within the course of centuries still to come!
You, the providence of the people in achievement and faith.
The tyrants fright, but the hope of the oppressed!
Who would not want to carry your bonds!
No gold is equal with their iron.
Hail to thee threefold, when you meet with the same fate.
That has always met the greatest sons of earth!¹²⁰

This summarized all that Garibaldi was to Italy and its people and their opinion of him.

The fourth stanza of this poem described the role of Garibaldi as a hero and a warrior.

Because still lives the hero's great spirit
Among thousands and thousands of brave men,
Who joyfully shall mix their blood with the dust

¹¹⁸ NHP, 15/10, 1862. Hans namn skall lefva på folkens läppar; hans mod, hans sällsynta oegennyttia och svärmande kärlek för friheten och Italien hafva förvärfvat honom hans plats bland världens heroer.

¹¹⁹ NHP, 15/10, 1862.

¹²⁰ LT, 7/10, 1862. Hell dig, martyr, Italiens fröjd och ara
Dess stolthet under nya seklers lopp!
Du, folkens foresyn i bragd och lara.
Ty

To chase away the hypocrite from Rome
And all this propaganda of darkness,
That still seeks to keep the people in bonds.
Yes, soon shall the well-known password ring again:
To Rome! To Rome! The priestly king must fall!¹²¹

The poet wrote about the supernatural when he mentioned Garibaldi's charisma which attracted brave soldiers to his side in battle. At the end of the stanza, the Pope is criticized for wanting the people to be kept in tyranny and for his propaganda in favour of the dark of the king of Naples and his terrorizing armies.¹²²

As a result of his struggle to realize the Italian dream of unity and freedom, Garibaldi was also depicted as protector of the fatherland.

Victor or defeated, prisoner or dictator You have always rescued your great patriotic poetry. A man who made the first move, as nobody else existing in our time, a man of honour, as there only few exist, You have once more let the banner of the national conscious stream freely./.../ Future history shall be righteous to You, as to every true great man, and it shall recognize widely and broadly everything that You have been for your Fatherland.¹²³

Garibaldi was seen as a great man since he, unselfishly, had put the freedom of the fatherland ahead of his own well-being and therefore, in return, he would acquire a prominent position in history. In the different texts, Garibaldi was often described as a „great patriot and champion of liberty“, which strengthened his position as European initiator of popular national liberation movements.

In Sweden, Garibaldi was often compared to domestic historical heroes such as Engelbrekt, Gustav Wasa and Gustavus II Adolphus, who all were considered great warriors who had liberated their people from oppression. This is seen in an article in *Öresundsposten* from 1862.

The descendants of and the kinsmen of Engelbrektar, Bondar, Sturar, Wasar and so many other renowned names in the struggles for Swedish freedom, do not dispute kinship and compatriotism with the hero of Messina, Palermo and Volturno.¹²⁴

Past Swedish wars, which had made the country free and sovereign, were connected to the Italian struggle for independence. Sweden was described as a precursor and a model for the unification of the Italian citystates. Sweden had once been an important political power with great warriors, and with the help of their history reformers wanted to reconstruct Sweden as a powerful state.

¹²¹ L.T, 7/10, 1862.

¹²² Calabrese, 1982.

¹²³ ÖP, 6/10, 1862.



Figure 3 This drawing shows how happy Italy, i.e. Cavour, the French troops and the Pope were at the news of Garibaldi having been captured. Indeed, the volcanos erupted in great fireworks. (Fäd., 6/9, 1862.)

Concluding the chapter

The Garibaldi movement started in 1859 with the Italian Bill which was presented in the Swedish Riksdag by Gustaf Lallerstedt, and more or less ended in autumn 1862 when Garibaldi was injured and captured at the battle of Aspromonte. Helsingborg, Göteborg, Norrköping and Stockholm were the towns where the Garibaldi enthusiasm was at its height. Helsingborg was outstanding as already in 1860 its inhabitants became members of honour of

¹²⁴ ÖP, 1/10, 1862.

S.N.I after having warmly welcomed marquis Migliorati during his stay in the town. The inhabitants of Helsingborg also contributed to Garibaldi fund raising and, furthermore, they joyfully participated in the great Garibaldi festival that was organized in 1862. The organizers of these festivities and demonstrations in Helsingborg were always, more or less, the same persons. The local burghers were central figures. In particular, the shopkeepers S.A Hafström and C.E Hedström, together with the editor of *Öresundsposten*, Fredrik Borg, were the main initiators in organizing local rites and festivities. In Stockholm, the newspaper editors August Blanche and August Sohlman, together with the royal secretary Sir. P.R Tersmeden, and A.C Raab, mostly initiated the political happenings.

Symbolic language

With the analysis of symbolic language in different articles and poems, I have sought to show how various metaphors were used in order to build up or strengthen an already existing story or narrative. The lines I have quoted were examples of how political agitators and others used symbolic language with metaphors that referred to nature, religion, and heroic virtues. Garibaldi was seen as the great hero. The newspaper articles constantly built up a narrative on Sweden and Scandinavia by using linguistic metaphors which were divided into three main themes.

Metaphors of nature were used to present concepts like freedom, liberty and independence. Religious metaphors were used in order to motivate and to emphasize the need for bravery and self-sacrifice. Liberals in Sweden were brought up within a Lutheran-Evangelic tradition and, therefore, used protestant religious metaphors in their arguments against despotic and catholic oppression. The Pope and Catholicism were connected to the supposed Bourbon tyranny in southern Italy. Garibaldi therefore was attributed with qualities resembling protestant ideals. The radical newspaper *Fäderneslandet* constantly stressed the dark and despotic governance of Pope Pius IX, but also feared a modernized catholicism under French control. As late as April in 1865, *Fäderneslandet* wrote: "In vain, the French emperor has tried to advise the Pope to implement such modern reforms as would make him win affection from the Romans; the stubborn old man and his obstinate cardinals do not think that a people can wish for greater happiness than being oppressed and impoverished by the governors of God on earth and his "holy" clergy".¹²⁵

One of the most important issues in texts on Garibaldi as a warrior was to stress the value of patriotism. A true patriot was a person who put the good of the nation before his own

¹²⁵ Fäd., ¼, 1865. Förgäfvess har franska kejsarn rådt påfven att införa sådana tidsenliga reformer, att han vinner romarnas tillgifvenhet; den envise gubben och hans halsstarriga kardinaler tycka att ett folk icke kan önska sig någon högre lycka än att förtryckas och utsugas af Guds ståthallare på jorden och hans "heliga" presterskap".

needs and who did not hesitate to sacrifice himself for the fatherland whenever necessary. Such characteristics were important ideal virtues for the sharpshooter movement, and they pointed symbolically to the domestic issue of parliamentary reform by which the movement appealed to the Noble Estate to put aside its privileges in order to create a new modern constitution.¹²⁶

Reformers attempted to strengthen their narratives with allusions to a glorious Swedish past. The epoch of Engelbrekt, the centuries of great power status and the heroic deeds of Charles XII became landmarks in Swedish history. Sweden's history could be compared to contemporary events in Italy and Scandinavia. It was emphasized that Sweden had had its own Garibaldi, i.e. Engelbrekt in the fifteenth century. Engelbrekt became another symbol for the Swedish sharpshooter movement. Such memories were there as prospective legitimation for an enlarged Scandinavian union that would enable Sweden to regain its great power status in a new era.

¹²⁶ Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 179-195.

VI. Poland

Swedish interest in Polish affairs started in 1861, when *Den Svenska Arbetaren*, a newspaper for workers in Norrköping, published a series of educational articles on the Polish situation. On the 21st September 1861, the paper described and explained the history of Poland. The article gave the impression of being informative and educational for readers who are supposed to have been mainly workers and proletarians. To inform them about the historical whereabouts and sufferings of Poland was a way to make readers aware of the political world around them. Such articles would also prove useful in the following year when the propaganda campaign to arouse public opinion in favor of military aid to Poland was at its height.

The article initially outlined that in the sixteenth century Poland had been a mighty kingdom equal in power to Russia. Over the following centuries, Poland gradually lost independence, and in the eighteenth century was conquered and partitioned between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Its declining power was explained partly as a consequence of external circumstances, and partly by circumstances leading to the internal destruction of the state. The internal circumstances were the supreme power and privileges of the nobility and the serfdom of the peasants. The nobility had had more power than the king, which meant that the landowning aristocracy hindered all sorts of reform initiatives within the country. However, *Den Svenske Arbetaren* stressed that in contemporary Poland had a liberation movement, and the paper hoped that this movement would perhaps be able to re-animate an independent Polish kingdom founded on ideas of national freedom.¹

This chapter will deal with the rhetoric of the Poltava Festivals which were organized all over Sweden in July 1862, the Charles Day celebrations in 1863 and the sharpshooter movement, which was a decisive partner of the celebrations. The Poltava festivities occurred at same time as the Garibaldi movement in 1862 and also continued in early 1863 when a Polish Bill was presented and discussed in the *Riksdag*. Following a governmental proposal on parliamentary reform, later in 1863 the Charles Day evolved into a liberal manifestation.

¹ DSA, 21/9, 1861. The description of Poland's political situation can be seen as an example of how the liberal movement described the Swedish situation. Even though Sweden had not been partitioned, it had lost a great deal of its territories to Russia. The inner „destruction“ in Sweden were by conservative and pro-Russian groups (the inner Russia) which hindered the development of parliamentary reform. Regarding reimagining, and the use of the past in order to say something about contemporary society, see further Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 2000, p. 77. ; Smith, 2000, pp. 53f. ; Ringrose, 1993, pp. 9f ; Hosking and Schöpfli, 1997, pp. 30-35. ; Ozouf, 1995, pp. 408ff.

The aim of this chapter will be to present the rituals and symbolic language of the Poltava and Charles Day celebrations and to in relate them to the rhetoric of the Garibaldi movement. As an introduction to the festivals, a first section will, however, deal with the aims and the organization of the sharpshooter movement, since this movement to a large extent permeated the Poltava and Charles Day celebrations. This section will deal with the position that the movement claimed to have in the contemporary national context. Concepts of patriotism and self-defense were central to the movement. This analysis will take two empirical examples as its starting point in order to contribute to understanding of the reform rhetoric which was developed in the 1860s and of how this rhetoric became decisive for the creation of a reform narrative. The first empirical example is some articles published in *Norrköpings-Kuriren* in 1861, in which the goals of the sharpshooter movement were discussed. The second example is a pamphlet written by a peasant enthusiastic about the development of the sharpshooter movement.

The Sharpshooter Movement

The Sharpshooters' Position in the State

The first articles to be analyzed were published in *Norrköpings-Kuriren* in February 1861, close in time to the founding of the first sharpshooter corps in Sweden in 1860. In a series of articles, the newspaper thoroughly discussed which position the sharpshooters ought to take in relation to the state. *Norrköpings-Kuriren* posed two questions. First, which positions were possible for the sharpshooters to occupy within the nation? Second, which of these possible positions should they decide to adopt? The answer to the first question depended upon law, while the answer to the second question should be chosen from the standpoint of the goals of the movement.²

The answers to these questions were then elaborated by *Norrköpings-Kuriren*. The paper started by discussing the first question in saying that certain, however not specified, "groups" referred to paragraph 13 of the Constitution (*Regeringsformen*) which stated that the king had the supreme command over the State's military forces on land and sea. The sharpshooter corps would, thus, come under the command of the king, just as any other military force. However, *Norrköpings-Kuriren* argued that this conclusion was not defensible or at least not acceptable even if one "read the paragraph literally". People who possessed

rifles were not under the authority of the ministry for defence so long as the right armament was not limited by the state.³

In general, the sharpshooter corps was simply voluntary associations in which interested individuals could practice using weapons. Therefore, *Norrköpings-Kuriren* stated that the sharpshooter associations were not obliged to obey the state, or become dependent upon state and government. On the contrary, the paper considered an organization under command of the king illegal, a sort of royal *lego* soldiers. The preferred position was, instead, an association which members of all classes could join in order to support the ideals of a sharpshooter movement.⁴

Until the day should arrive that the *state*, king and parliament, decide to put the sharpshooter corps under the command of the national ministry for defence, the shooters should remain completely independent and voluntary. The king should have no right to impose any restrictions on their activities, but, on the contrary, the sharpshooters should be free to have their own rules and regulations. The paper reported, in addition, that the government at some point had expressed doubts as to the seriousness of the sharpshooter movement.⁵ Why, the paper asked ironically, was the state then so keen to bring the movement under its command?

The second question, regarding which path the sharpshooter movement should choose to reach its goals, was answered by the paper with reference to skill with weapons. The aim should be to "become skilled in handling arms and other military exercises in order, in the moment of danger, to help defending the fatherland."⁶ Real love for the fatherland entailed "the need to feel safe about its free future, which inspires this magnanimous recruit movement, which almost immediately has spread over the entire country like the firelight from beacons, which from region to region circulate news of an approaching danger and a general summons to arms."⁷ However, the intention of the sharpshooter movement was no innovation of the 1860s. Also in the past people had nurtured a deep love for the fatherland and had fought to defend it when needed. According to *Norrköpings-Kuriren*, the novelty was

² NK, 19/2, 1861.

³ N.K., 19/2, 1861. The law in that period did not pose any restrictions on citizens carrying weapons and practicing using them. Neither was it forbidden to form associations.

⁴ N.K., 19/2, 1861. However, if the state decided, it would be able, through law, to force the sharpshooters to obey its command.

⁵ N.K., 22/2, 1861.

⁶ N.K., 19/2, 1861. „skaffa sig färdighet i vapenföring och andra militäröfningar för att kunna i farans stund medverka till fäderneslandets försvar.”

⁷ N.K., 19/2, 1861. „behovet att känna sig betryggad för dess fria framtid, som framkallar denna storartade beväringrörelse, hvilken nästan ögoblickligen utbredd sig öfver hela landet likt eldskenet från tända vårdkasar, hvilka från trakt till trakt kringsprida underrättelse om en förestående fara samt maning till allmänt uppbåd.”

that in the past citizens had not known how to organize themselves in a sensible and practical way.

The main inspiration for the sharpshooter movement was, the paper explained, to be ready for "the moment of danger" without having to serve in the military services. The sharpshooters were, following this premise, a substitute for a standing army. The Swedish people would be trained to fight in case of war. Explicitly, the paper stated: "let us procure this skill to handle weapons, let us exercise ourselves in becoming a warlike nation, so that we can organize our defence when, and if, it is needed and with this idea the sharpshooter movement started in our country."⁸

Judging from the language of the paper, it is obvious that it supported the idea of a people prepared for war, as in olden days. Since an enemy could attack the borders at any time, defence skills were necessary immediately. Though every true patriot hoped that the day would never dawn when the sharpshooter corps would actually have to fight to defend their fatherland, they were all to be prepared if this were to happen. At that moment, "shall the heart throb vividly when it beats, and with gay bravery shall the experienced shot 'take hold of his rifle and shout: I am here!'"⁹

After having described the aim of the sharpshooter corps, *Norrköpings-Kuriren* explicitly stated that the ultimate goal of the movement was to create a "supply of weapon skilled militarily educated men who are not part of the national military but who, at any time when they consider the fatherland to be in danger, can become a national army; it is this, which to us seems to be the real aim of the sharpshooter corps, and an aim of which one must never lose sight." Whether such a goal could be reached with or without cooperation with the government was for the future to answer. A nation where the people walked hand in hand with king and government would be the ideal solution and a sign of national strength. At any rate, the paper argued that in such a moment the nation would be in a prosperous and happy position, as the people and the government would have a relationship based on trust.¹⁰

⁸ N.K., 19/2, 1861. „låt oss förskaffa oss denna vapenfärdighet, låtom oss öfva oss att blifva ett krigiskt folk, så att vi kunna organisera oss till försvar, när och om det gäller, och med denna tanke började skarpskytterörelsen hos oss."

⁹ N.K., 22/2, 1861. „skall dock hjertat klappa lifligt när det smäller, och med gladt mod skall den vane skytten 'fatta sitt gevär och ropa: jag är här!'" The concept of patriotism was here very clear and also how it was used in order to stress the need of good citizen who would put the needs of the nation before their own. See Mosse, 1996, pp. 1-15.; Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 179f, 228f.; Hobsbawm, 2000, pp. 1ff.

¹⁰ N.K., 19/2, 1861. „förråd af vapenkunniga och militäriskt bildade män, hvilka icke ingå i landets stående militäriska organisation, men hvilka när som helst, då de anse fäderneslandet i fara, kunna inträda i detsamma; det är detta, som synes oss utgöra det egentliga ändamålet med skarpskyttekorpsernas bildande, och som man aldrig bör lämna ur sigte." The mixture of constitutionalism and traditionalism was clear. Progress could be obtained by returning to the ancient combination where king and people worked together for the good of the nation. See Kurunmäki, 2000.

To say that the sharpshooter movement should take upon itself the task of protecting the freedom of the fatherland could, of course, be understood in different ways. On the one hand, one could consider the sharpshooter corps as actively defending the borders against foreign aggression from great powers but, on the other hand, this role could be understood in the context of defending the fatherland against domestic oppressors' freedom and democracy. In the end, *Norrköpings-Kuriren* rather emphasized the traditional aspect of considering king and people working together in unity for the well-being of the fatherland.¹¹

The essence of the sharpshooter idea was expressed in a song composed by Onkel Adam and published in *Norrköpings-Kuriren* in February in 1861.

Long before war is a threat
Wake up you tribe of warriors
From the files of people
Let your forces run forward.
If king and country are in danger,
Take to arms yourself and fight.
Do not spare your own blood;
Because then God is with us.

Who is best in finding his way,
In our forests?
Yes the Sharpshooter, who
Brings down the unwelcome guest
Secure in his gaze,
He surely hits the enemy –
"Put the bullet in the center"
"Say thank you – for the battle."¹²

The first stanza talked of a people preparing for battle long before danger was immediate, metaphorically expressed in terms of an awakening. Virtuous citizens were prepared to

¹¹ See further Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 221 ff.

¹² N.K., 12/2, 1861. Långt förr än örlog hotar

Vak opp du kämpastam,
Och låt ur folkets rotar
Din Landstorm springa fram.
Är kung och land i fara,
Tag vapen själv och slåss.
Ditt eget blod ej spara;
Ty då är Gud med oss.

Hvem hittar när det gäller,
I våra skogar bäst?
Jo Skarpskytten, som fäller
Den ovälkomna gäst
Så säker uti blicken,
Sin man han träffar visst –
"Sätt kulan mitt i prickén"
"Och tacka så - för sist."

sacrifice themselves for the fatherland. At any rate, God would always hold a protective hand over the Swedish people. Religion was closely related to the concepts of people, king and fatherland. The citizen was also fighting to preserve the Lutheran-Evangelical faith within the nation.¹³

Skarpskytten, a pamphlet

The pamphlet *Skarpskytten* (the Sharpshooter) was written and published by Carl Welin in 1862, as the movement peaked nationwide. The *Skarpskytten* was the second edition, after a highly popular first edition. On the front of the second edition, it was said that *Skarpskytten* aimed to express „Thoughts on voluntary national defense in Sweden, as a necessary condition for our freedom and independence.“¹⁴

The author wanted to contribute to spreading the idea of the sharpshooter movement; also in the countryside. Welin strongly believed that the participation of people in the countryside was essential if the movement were to become successful. The peasants were, according to Welin, the “kernel of the nation“.¹⁵ Himself a peasant, Welin nurtured a deeply felt love for the fatherland (fosterlandet) even though, working the land, he did not have a lot of time to dedicate to the movement. However, peasants would always be prepared for action, whenever it would be needed in order to rescue and defend the fatherland.

Welin continued in saying that the sharpshooters must aim the first blow „at enemies within the country; because they are the most faithful allies of external enemies.“¹⁶ Thus, the pamphlet stressed the need to defeat domestic enemies, i.e. the pro-Russian and anti-reform conservative groups, in order to successfully stand united against external enemies. Welin, therefore, argued in favour of political reform, as it would be important to have a more democratic society in order to defeat oppressive, and undemocratic, powers such as Russia.

The pamphlet was written in June 1862 during the organization of the Poltava festivals. Therefore, the enemies were also those who silently supported Russia on the Polish issue, because they wanted a calm, and friendly, relationship with the powerful neighbour. Welin criticized those representatives within the Riksdag who were reluctant to openly give

¹³ Cf. Petau, 1990, pp. 429–468. ; Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 225ff.

¹⁴ Welin, C., *Skarpskytten*, Mariestad, 1862, p. 1.

¹⁵ „Tankar om ett frivilligt nationalförsvar i Sverige, som ett nödvändigt villkor för vår frihet och självständighet.“

¹⁶ „nationens kärna“.

¹⁶ Welin, 1862, p. 4. „riktat första skottet mot fienderna inom landet; ty de äro de yttre fiendernas trognaste bundsförvanter.“

needed to respond to Russia's lust for expansion with the same male virtues as characterized the eastern enemy.²²

Welin also stated his views on an improvement of Swedish armed defence through the sharpshooter movement. Contemporary national military resources would not be able to withstand an attack from Russia. Therefore, a general military arming of the people could result in an army of 4-500,000 soldiers. The important thing would be to teach these citizen soldiers to handle a gun. A complementary voluntary army should assist the professional soldiers in a defence against foreign aggressions. There would be no question of fighting in order to expand the national territory, because it was clarified that the days of conquest lay in the distant past.²³ This statement, however, contradicted Welin's consideration of Finland as the lost daughter in need of reunion with "mother Svea". The apparent paradox can, however, be dissolved. Mid-eighteenth century Swedes tended to think of Finland as an integral part of Sweden, only temporarily lost.

Welin argued, further, that a country with ignorant and egoistic citizens, who were reluctant to defend their fatherland, would suffer unhappiness and misery.²⁴ Such behaviour would invite the enemy to attack and it would, thus, be easy for a tyrannic great power such as Russia to invade and destroy the nation. Therefore, Welin urged all citizens to join the sharpshooter movement for a common effort to improve the Sweden's military defence and thus safeguard the nation. He stretched his patriotic eagerness even so far as to urge women to join the movement. Women would be useful as educators of their sons, the young men of the nation, and therefore it was essential for them to be aware of the patriotic virtues which were to bring well-being to the fatherland.²⁵ A male world of responsibility and duties was put in relation to the female world of motherhood and its function in educating, and founding a moral base for, the sons. Women as mothers should teach their sons to be true patriots and virtuous citizens within the future nation.²⁶

The general argument of the pamphlet was for the sharpshooter movement's necessity for the defense of the fatherland against foreign as well as domestic enemies. The Russian threat justified this patriotic movement. A virtuous citizen should display devotion, bravery, and sacrifice himself for the fatherland. Those who did not do so were described as egoistic persons who would bring misery to the country. Welin claimed, therefore, that one should not point to difficulties with the cost for buying necessary equipment and uniforms for this

²² Regarding female images during the French Revolution see Landes, 2001, pp. 81ff.

²³ Welin, 1862, p. 16.

²⁴ Cf. Viroli, 1995, pp. 97-105.

²⁵ Welin, 1862, p. 23.

²⁶ Tornbjør, 2002, p. 33.; Edgren, 1996, pp. 233-256 ; Porciani, 1997, pp. 91ff ; Mosse, 1990, pp. 1-15.

voluntary army. In the end, it was skill, love for the king and the fatherland, and devotion that counted for success. The voluntary soldiers would need only one rifle in order to be prepared to fight and nice uniforms were superfluous. An increase in the number of sharpshooters would, therefore, signify national safety and a prosperous future.

The Poltava Festivals

The Polish propaganda movement

Swedish twentieth century literature on the Polish question is dated and rather nationalist in its approach. The only more critical work is Leokadia Postén's dissertation on the propaganda movement in favour of military, as well as humanitarian, support for Poland. Postén stresses in *De polska emigranternas agentverksamhet i Sverige 1862-1863* that it was due to King Charles XV and the Scandinavianist group in Stockholm that Polish agents in Sweden were successful in their pro-Polish propaganda. The Swedish radicals could use the Polish issue for their own aims for Scandinavian union and entering the Danish conflict with Schleswig-Holstein.²⁷ Also other liberal and conservative groups, which shared the pro-Polish sentiment, gave their support, mostly out of national interest, as they were hoping for a less powerful Russia as a result of Polish insurgence. Furthermore, by supporting Polish independence it was also hoped that Finland could become liberated from Russia. This would make Finland available for a coming Scandinavian union.²⁸

The Swedish historian K.G. Fellenius claimed in the 1930s that the Swedish people, as well as European nations in general, were hoping for a Polish victory in order to lessen the power of Russia. With a strong and powerful Russia, the danger for the Scandinavian countries would increase. However, Fellenius further noted the weight of an innate sympathy for oppressed peoples among Swedish citizens. This sympathy "is not built on love of freedom as in England, neither on any historical traditions as in France, but the sympathy of

²⁷ Postén, 1982, p. 230. The Polish agents which were sent to Sweden in 1862 were divided in two different ideological groups. The aristocratic group, the white ones emanating from Hotel Lambert, sent Jordan, Kalinka and Klaczko. The other more radical, red group, came to Sweden in 1863 with Demontowicz as the main agent. See Postén, pp. 233f. The Scandinavianist group in Stockholm consisted mainly of newspaper editors and radical liberals such as Gustaf Lallerstedt, August Blanche and Emil von Qvanten.

the Swedes is, so to speak, innate, because with the mothers' milk is learned hatred for Moscow, an inherited idea of revenge, and a deep conviction about the need for an independent Poland."²⁹ Fellenius wrote these lines in early twentieth century and was, as said, taking a staunch nationalist point of view.

The need for and the righteousness of the Polish liberation struggle was expressed in a poem by the national romanticist Carl David af Wirsén.

The poor land shall once again become free,
Once, it must be delivered, because God can never die,
And human rights still exist on this earthly island.
The Polish banner proudly floats in sign of struggle of Polish men:
You revenger in the sky, it must not fall yet!³⁰

Besides purely national interests, which Sweden was hoping to fulfill by arousing pro-Polish opinion among the Swedish people and other European countries, Charles XV had a certain personal aim in supporting Poland and its agents. Charles XV dreamt of a victorious war in order to strengthen his own power position in Sweden and Scandinavia. This explains his journey to France and England in 1861, where he eagerly tried to convince these countries, mainly the France of Napoleon III, of the need for Scandinavian union. Charles XV considered the unification of Italy a model for Scandinavian unification through Swedish power politics.³¹ The Swedish historian Carl Hallendorff argued, at the beginning of the twentieth century, that Charles XV considered the friendship with Napoleon III very important for the implementation of a union. However, Charles XV was fooled by the French emperor into believing that the latter had a strong interest in the creation of an all-Nordic union. As a result, Charles XV put too much trust in the words of Napoleon III without really having understood the true meaning of their discussions in Paris.³²

Polish uprising awoke sympathies in Swedish public opinion which were similar to the effects of Italian unification. Both issues provoked the organization of festivities and manifestations, and in the Polish case in 1863 a Bill was presented before the *Riksdag*. The

²⁸ Postén, 1982, p. 231.

²⁹ Fellenius, K.G., *Polska frågan i Sverige år 1863. Anteckningar ur polsk-svenska papper*, Stockholm, 1936, p. 14. "...bygger icke på kärlek till friheten liksom i England, ej heller på några historiska traditioner liksom i Frankrike, utan svenskarnas medkänsla är så att säga medfödd, ty den är det med modersmjölken insupna hatet mot Moskva, det nedärvda kravet på hämnd och den djupa övertygelsen om behovet av ett självständigt Polen."

³⁰ Fellenius, 1936, p. 21f.

Detta arma land skall dock bli fritt en gång,
Det måste en gång uppstå frälst, ty Gud kan aldrig dö,
Och mänskorätt dock lever än på denna jordens ö.
Polens fana svajar stolt till strid för Polens män:
Du hämnare i skyn, den får ej falla än!

³¹ Postén, 1982, pp. 227f.

Polish agents asked for Swedish military support should a war break out with Russia. The Polish agents were sent to Sweden from Hotel Lambert in Paris³³ after a meeting between Gustaf Lallerstedt and Wladyslaw Czartoryski had taken place in 1861.³⁴ The first agent was the conservative colonel Zygmunt Jordan who, in 1862, with help from Lallerstedt and the newspapers in Stockholm, influenced public opinion in Sweden in favour of organizing festivals that would honour the memory of the battle of Poltava in 1709.³⁵ On the 9th July 1862 Poltava festivals were thus celebrated all over the country, although the festival in Stockholm was the most important.

In 1863, after the January uprising against Russia, Polish agents intensified their propaganda in Sweden with the help of newspapers such as *Aftonbladet*, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, *Frihetsvännen*, *Illustrerad Tidning* and *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning*. The newspapers had editors, or collaborators, who knew Jordan and therefore were very positive towards active support for the Polish struggle for independence.³⁶ As a result of the Polish propaganda, meetings in support of Poland were held nationwide in March. Lallerstedt, among others, decided to present a Bill in the Nobility and Burgers' Estates. The Bill provoked a discussion of whether Sweden should promise military support to Poland against Russia. According to Postén, it was quite clear that Jordan's pro-Polish propaganda would have had resulted in nothing without the support of the king and the "Scandinavianist group" among Stockholm liberals. The aim of the Scandinavian liberals and the king was, however, to use the Polish propaganda for their own interests in convincing Denmark for Scandinavian union. This did not appeal to Jordan who, therefore, turned to Finnish emigrants in Sweden such as von Qvanten and Nordström and, in that way, managed to arouse anti-Russian feelings among the Swedish people.³⁷

³² Hallendorff, 1914, p. 155.

³³ Hotel Lambert was the name of the political group that gathered around the conservative prince A.J Czartoryski in Paris. The group consisted of conservative publicists, military officers and politicians who wanted to work for a free Poland. They based their hope on diplomatic help from the great powers, to result in a European war. See, Postén, pp. 37-38.

³⁴ Postén, 1982, p. 40. Wladyslaw Czartoryski was son of prince Adam. Gustaf Lallerstedt was a well known publicist and a member of the Burgers' Estate in the Riksdag. He was registered as a businessman in the town Vadstena in order to be elected to the Riksdag but he also traveled a lot in Europe (to Paris and Berlin among other cities). Lallerstedt was involved in the newspaper business and was one of the owners of *Aftonbladet* until 1862. In 1856 during a stay in Paris he wrote a political pamphlet on the question of Scandinavian union called *La Scandinavie, ses craintes e ses espérances*. He was a liberal in favour of a further development of the banking system and of free trade. See <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/b0016.html>

³⁵ The battle at Poltava in 1709 was one in a long line of battles in the war that started in 1700 when Denmark, Saxony and Russia formed an alliance to regain the lands they had lost to Sweden in the 17th century. Charles XII occupied Poltava in order to force Tsar Peter into battle, but Charles XII was wounded and defeated and had to flee with his army to Bender in Turkey. See Scobbie, 1995, p. 107.

³⁶ Postén, 1982, p. 104.

³⁷ Postén, 1982, p. 230.

The Polish Bill was presented on 14th March 1863 in the House of Nobility and the Burghers' Estates. It had been prepared mainly by Gustaf Lallerstedt and Sir Per Tersmeden. Their intention was that the Swedish government, and the other states that had signed the treaty of Vienna in 1815, should demand Polish independence from Russia. The Bill drew much attention and caused a lively discussion in the House of Nobility and in the Burgers' Estate. As a result, it was remitted to the General Appeal- and Economy Committee (*Allmänna Besvärs- och Ekonomiutskottet*). The Bill caused difficulties for the Swedish Foreign Minister, Ludwig Manderström, since, although feeling a certain sympathy for the Polish people and its struggle, he was aware of its utopian character, as well as of the paltry Swedish military resources at that moment. Thus, he feared that the radical-liberal war agitation, which had a certain support from king Charles XV and his brother, prince Oscar, could disturb the diplomatic relationship with Russia. Pro-Polish sentiments could have resulted in a conflict in which Sweden would have stood alone without the support from the European great powers.³⁸

However, since the European great powers were not that eager to help Poland in a war against Russia, Sweden could not give any promise of military aid. Swedish military resources were restricted and a friendly relationship with, and probably also fear of, Russia was decisive for the government. Despite the lack of great power support, the revolutionary tide spread all over Poland in these months. As a result, some of Jordan's radical friends in Sweden wanted to follow him to the battlefield and fight for Polish independence. It seems that as a result of the political activities from Hotel Lambert pro-Polish propaganda was most fervent in Sweden, France and England.³⁹

August Blanche, one of the main agitators in favour of Poland, preferred to help Poland rather than Denmark. Blanche was highly optimistic before the presentation of the Bill on military support for Poland before the Burghers' Estate. When the Bill was voted down Blanche was furious with his fellow Estate representatives and accused them of cowardice. In his speech, Blanche called on popular support for the Bill. However, if the voice of the people was too weak, then there would be no other solution than to take up to arms and fight a new "holy war". Blanche was using emotionally strong language with allusions to the Swedish past as a great protestant power.⁴⁰

³⁸ Postén, 1982, p. 115.

³⁹ Postén, 1982, p. 117.

⁴⁰ Erdmann, *August Blanche och hans samtid*, 1892, pp. 352f. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that Blanche even after the failure of the Bill, continued his struggle for Poland by publishing aggressive articles in *Illustrerad Tidning*. Sympathies for Poland in general started to get less frequent because of the more urgent need to turn attention towards Denmark, which was in conflict with Prussia. However, Blanche stressed that he did not see

The Italian and Polish questions, and the public opinion they aroused in Sweden, resembled each other. In both cases, a certain group of radical liberals were the central figures in spreading information and propaganda for the respective causes. The propaganda led in both cases to the presentation of a Bill in the Riksdag, however with various results. The Bill for Italian independence was received positively by more or less all the Estates, while the Bill for military support for Poland was more delicate. In the Polish case, representatives had to consider the danger of disturbing diplomatic relations with Russia and consider the possibility of a war with a neighbouring great power. Therein lay the decisive difference between the two cases.

In both cases, foreign political issues were instrumentalized by Swedish radical liberals for domestic purposes. They communicated messages demanding parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union. The Polish liberation struggle against Russia was thus a beneficial case for reference to progressive patriotic values. To actively take a standpoint on and fight for the Polish cause should be a sign of unselfish devotion to and sacrifice for the fatherland.⁴¹

Poltava Festivals in 1862

In this section, the Poltava festivities from some major towns (Stockholm, Göteborg, and Örebro), as well as some provincial towns and villages will be described and analyzed. The festivities will be divided in terms of open and closed celebrations in order to distinguish at what level the festivities were organized, and to whom the celebrations were directed. The press opinions on the Poltava festivities and their political aims will be integrated into the analysis. The Garibaldi movement and its festivities overlapped with the Polish movement

any trouble with Denmark becoming part of Germany, since Germany would support Poland and, therefore, lessen the possibility for Russia to extend its power in that region. See Erdmann, 1892, p. 357.

⁴¹ Regarding patriotism, see further Viroli, 1995, pp. 97f, 105, where it says regarding republican patriotism that « True patriotism[...]is a greatness of soul, a moral strength that enables men to commit themselves to the pursuit of great things »..

and Poltava festivals in 1862. Therefore, I will try to put the Italian and Polish issues in relation to each other, in order to investigate whether the rhetoric and the use of symbolic themes were similar.

Unlike the Garibaldi festivals the Poltava festivals were founded on a mythical memory, a recollection, as they centred on an event that was not in immediate contact with the present time. The Garibaldi movement, on the other hand, was built on the memory of recent events, i.e. a memory of retention.⁴² The Swedish past as a great power will be important in this chapter became the concept of the Polish movement and the Poltava festivals both were structured on that past. The Poltava festivities reanimated a glorious past in order to make enhance the cause of parliamentary reform and a future all-Nordic union.

Before analysing the rituals and the symbolic language of the Poltava Festivals, general opinions on the Poltava festivals in newspapers will be presented.

Opinions on Poltava festivals

As a first example of local opinion, I have chosen *Nerikes Allehanda* on the 5th July 1862, which published a short article declaring that the Poltava festivities were to be held on the 9th July. It was mentioned that the local sharpshooter association would honour the memory of the great day by organizing a general but modest festivity. Furthermore, the paper mentioned that an invitation to the central Poltava festival in Stockholm had been published in all the major newspapers of the country.⁴³ In the general invitation it was stressed that a "great political idea, of importance for a free development of Europe, was holding back the Poltava day which had needed more than a century to strike roots anew. Our eastern neighbour has decided to conserve only this day among its celebrations of victories. May this day be celebrated also by us; however not as a day of grief, nor as a challenge, but as a gesture of honour to the Swedish men

⁴² See chap III.

⁴³ NA, 5/7, 1862. The initiators of the Poltava festival in Stockholm were A.W Björck, Engelhart, Selander, Rythén, Säterberg, Söllscher, August Blanche, August Sohlman, Lindström, A.L Björck, Sir P.R Tersmeden, von Qvanten, Sahlström, Gustaf Lallerstedt, Mengel.

who with death and captivity sealed their faithfulness to this seminal idea.”⁴⁴ The concept of sacrifice was recurrently stressed in order to define how a good citizen should work for the future well-being of the fatherland.⁴⁵

The general idea of the Poltava festivities was to celebrate the day when Charles XII and his armies lost the battle that was followed by the loss of most of the Baltic Swedish territories to Russia. The festivities initiators emphasized that Sweden, notwithstanding defeat at Poltava in 1709, had remained a free and independent country. Sweden had not been subordinated to Russian despotism. On the contrary, the Swedish people had stayed patriotic and faithful, and the Swedes had fought for freedom, democracy, and independence. These three concepts were key to the contemporary debate on parliamentary reform and, therefore, it was possible to use the Poltava festivities in the ongoing argumentation in favour of reform. The concept of sacrifice could also be used in the ongoing reform debate, to underline how virtuous citizens ought not to hesitate to sacrifice themselves for the fatherland also in the 1860s, which indicated that the existing Estates should give up their privileges.⁴⁶

There was, however, also a more moderate idea behind celebration of the battle of Poltava. The fact that Sweden had lost a lot of territory, but not its independence, had nurtured the idea that Sweden was the northern European outpost of civilization and that its task was to protect the rest of Europe against barbaric and tyrannical regimes. Therefore, the Poltava Day signified not only freedom but also independence and civilization.

On the day of the Poltava festival in Stockholm, the column “Brev till syster Ulla” in *Fäderneslandet* opened saying that today “is the big Poltava party. Oh, how that day shall be remembered dearly! How the organizers Mr. Sohlman, Lindström among other leading “literates” (writers) shall be honored due to that festivity! Can one imagine anything more beautiful than to celebrate the day of defeat! It will do justice to those men who unfortunately caused the defeat. It is not Charles XII who one needs to remember here, because Charles was injured and could not personally lead the army [...] but instead it was a Mr. Rehnsköld, who we should not easily forget when celebrating the battle of Poltava.”⁴⁷ Celebrating the defeat

⁴⁴ NA, 5/7, 1862. ...en stor politisk tanke, full av betydelse för Europas fria utveckling, hämmades Pultavadagen i sin fortgång och behöfde mer än ett århundrade för att slå nya rotskott. Vår östra granne har beslutit att bland sina segerfester ensamt bibehålla denna. Må den dagen firas äfwen af oss; dock ej som en sorgfest, icke heller som en utmaning, men som en hyllningsgård åt de swenske män, hwilka med död och fångenskap beseglade sin trohet för denna werldshistoriska tanke.

⁴⁶ See Holmberg, 1946, pp. 370ff. ; Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 178-195.

⁴⁷ Fäd., 9/7, 1862. « är den stora Pultava-festen. Ack, hvad den festen skall i tacksamt minne bevaras! Hvad arrangöerne, hrr Sohlman, Lindström m.fl. stora litteratörer skola hafva heder af den tillställningen! Kan man tänka sig något vackrare än att fira nederlagets dag! Det är att göra rättvisa åt de män, som olyckligtvis föranledde nederlaget. Det är icke Carl XII, som man härvid bör så mycket ihågkomma, ty Carl var sårad och kunde icke personligen anförä armén[...]utan det var en herr Rehnsköld, som man icke så lätt kan glömma, vid

of Charles XII did not appeal to *Fäderneslandet*, which might have been due to the fact that the newspaper was in conflict with the organizers of the Poltava festivity and, thus, did not consider the connection between Charles XII, Poltava and Swedish national freedom appropriate.

Some other aspects of legitimacy were discussed in an article in *Öresundsposten* on 14th of July. The paper claimed it was acceptable for the Russians to celebrate the victory at Poltava. The Poltava festive day in Russia should be seen as confirming the awakening of nationalist feelings in Russia and be interpreted in the light of the position of Russia as a great power. The Russian celebrations did not have to include any intention of mockery or hatred towards Sweden, but were rather a confirmation of Russian nationality. The paper mentioned that Sweden also had celebrated its victories over Denmark, by means of honouring for example Magnus Stenbock and his deeds. When we “also here in this country want to celebrate the Poltava day, as one of our heroic memories, we are convinced that it has been done in such a way that it has increased our national spirit; we would only wish that one had not got the incentive to do so from – Russia, because it is as walking over the river to get water.”⁴⁸

The author seemed to think that celebration of Poltava day in Russia would reinforce nationalist feeling there, but he did not further discuss whether this feeling was a liberating national spirit or rather one that confirmed the undemocratic dynasty. The paper supported the general opinion that remembering Poltava day in Sweden could strengthen the national spirit also and enhance values of independence and freedom.

From having expressed understanding for Russia, *Öresundsposten* also underlined that it was necessary to understand the suffering of the Polish people. On the 23rd July, *Öresundsposten* published an address from Polish emigrants to the Swedish people. The address was directed to the “Swedes” and it said that Russia was now celebrating the day of its victory at Poltava. The battle had been a devastating defeat for Sweden and for Europe, because it had confirmed the power of a despotic and tyrannic state. The address expressed that Sweden at least responded to the Russian festivity by organizing a ceremony which honored fallen soldiers on all sides. “All those people, who are victims of a government whose cruelty has no limits, shall unite with you in your noble and patriotic grief.”⁴⁹ The

celebrerandet af Pultava-slaget.”; The blaim was to be found with Rehnsköld and his not very rational orders that caused one of the major defeats of the Swedish army, according to *Fäderneslandet*.

⁴⁸ ÖP, 14/7, 1862. också här i landet welat fira Pultavadagen, såsom ett af våra hjelteminnen, äro wi öfwertygade om, att det skett på ett sätt som gifwit lyftning äfwen åt vår nationalkänsla; wi skulle blott önskat, att man ej hemtat impulsen dertill från – Ryssland, ty det är att gå öfwer ån efter watten.”

⁴⁹ ÖP, 23/7, 1862. Alla de folk, som äro offer för en regering, hwilkens grymhet icke har sin like, skola förena sig i eder ädla och patriotiska sorg.”

address defended the Polish insurrection and claimed that the different nations oppressed by Russia would soon take action. "be aware, you sons of Scandinavia, not to mix the Moscow government with the nation she is oppressing. The spirit of freedom in Russia is awakening, the crowd of apostles of freedom is growing day by day, The most progressive ideas, the most magnanimous thoughts are spreading along the shores of Rewa. Now no power shall be able to hinder their triumph."⁵⁰

Scandinavia was referred to as a mother nation, though the Scandinavian countries had not forged a political union. However, the address referred to all Scandinavian countries when telling Scandinavians to look out for the dangerous claws of Russia. The metaphor of awakening signified that the concept of national freedom among the Russian peoples was only starting to develop. This metaphor is part of the *nature* theme discussed in the previous Garibaldi chapter. The Polish people were, therefore, described as active and decisive forerunners in fighting for freedom and independence from Russia.

Ny Illustrerad Tidning, edited by August Blanche, described Charles XII as a great personality who had led an entire country and its people. The following lines from the Poltava festivities emphasized the greatness of the king:

He was a man and that was enough,
We will no more see his equal!
[...]

The Lion King to ancient North
Shall arrive crowned in victory,
And in earth of holy memories
Shall hope prosper again.
God shall guard our free shore,
*God save our fatherland!*⁵¹

The poem communicated that the male virtues Charles possessed had made him a great hero. Male virtues were a necessity for a virtuous citizen and a true patriot.⁵² In the second part of the poem, Charles XII is referred to as the lion king, which puts him in a context of a hunter who attacks his prey, not somebody sneaking away from danger. The past, present and future

⁵⁰ ÖP, 23/7, 1862.wakten eder, söner af Skandinavien, att förblanda den moskovitiska regeringen med den nation som hon förtrycker. Rysslands frihetsanda, waknar, frihetsapostlarnas skara växer med hwarje dag De mest framskridna ideer, de mest högsinnade tankesätt fortplantas wid Rewas stränder. Numera skall ingen makt kunna hejda deras triumf än."

⁵¹ N.Y.T, 2/8, 1862. Lejonkungen till åldrig Nord
Segerkransad skall komma,
Och på minnenas helga jord
Hoppet åter skall blomma.
Gud skall hägna vår fria strand,
Gud bevare vårt fosterland!

⁵² Mosse, 1996, p 1-15. ; Viroli, 1995, pp. 90-100.

were continuously inter-connected in order to tell a story about the desire for an independent and democratic nation. The past was essential for presenting prospects of progress for the fatherland.⁵³

The Poltava festivities

Drama in the street *Open celebrations*

On Wednesday 9th July 1862, in Örebro, the sharpshooter corps gathered early in the morning to march towards the main square. The sharpshooter music corps played while marching, but stopped playing as the procession reached the square. In silence, the sharpshooters organized themselves in the form of a rectangle surrounded by a crowd of more or less five thousand persons, according to *Nerikes Allehanda*.⁵⁴ In Göteborg, early in the morning, the local sharpshooter association and the voluntary fire brigade also assembled, at *Kungssportsplatsen*, in order to march. The different sharpshooter- and fire brigade divisions carried their banners and played music. The parade marched towards *Brunnsparken*, where the festivity was to take place, and where the rest of the participants and spectators were waiting.⁵⁵ The marching marked the beginning of the festivity, and drew the attention of the general public.

The festivity in Göteborg was inaugurated with the song “Yield you fugitive memories of time“, after which Mr. Wieselgren spoke on the intention of celebrating the memory of Poltava. Wieselgren stressed the importance of honouring the heroic soldiers who had sacrificed themselves at Poltava in 1709. He claimed that the ordinary soldiers (*getapågar*) who fought under Måns Stenbock at Poltava could be considered forefathers of the contemporary

⁵³ Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 179ff.

⁵⁴ NA, 12/7, 1862.

⁵⁵ GHT, 10/7, 1862. Furthermore, school teachers, whose association had gathered in Göteborg for their own national meeting, and other interested inhabitants of the town, joined the procession through the streets of Göteborg. Brunnsparken is a park in the centre of Göteborg.

sharpshooter movement. Wieselgren praised the sharpshooter movement and expressed his hope that the idea of voluntary arming would diffuse across the country.⁵⁶

After the speech and the singing of hymns, the procession proceeded to Gustaf Adolf square, where it gathered around the monument to the warrior king Gustavus Adolphus. First, the choir sang "Hear us Svea" and "From the depth of Swedish hearts", and then the people cheered His Majesty the King, Charles XV. The festivity ended with singing and a prayer to the fatherland.⁵⁷ Once again, a celebration had centred on a monument in order to express a common identity with and honour for the fatherland.

Revolutionary and traditional trends were inter-mingled. On the one hand, participants joined processions and assembled around a banner or a statue, as during the French Revolution. On the other hand, the same participants sang specifically royal anthems, such as "From the depth of Swedish hearts", and cheered the king, Charles XV, thus confirming the loyalty to the monarchy. This mixing of traditional and revolutionary cultural elements was already common in festivities organized in connection with the Scandinavian student meetings in the 1840s and 1850s in Sweden and Denmark.⁵⁸

In Örebro, some women of the town presented a gift, a banner, to the local sharpshooter association in honour of the day. The circuit judge (*häradsbövding*), who handed over the banner to the sharpshooters also made a speech, in which he talked about the meaning of the sharpshooter corps. He dwelled on the significance of the banner for the sharpshooters and for the county. Furthermore, he stated that the banner was a sign of the interest women had in the sharpshooter movement and the support women were willing to give this movement. Female support was important, because when "a man fights, it is she, who heals, when it is the hard destiny of a man to spread fear and destruction, it is her fair part to spread peace and comfort (*hugsvalelse*)."⁵⁹ A sharpshooter would need power in his arms as well as in his heart, the judge continued, and therefore women had a role to play as educators of future shooters. Women should give their sons a natural and unpretentious upbringing, and teach them to be brave and have faith in God in all situations. The fatherland would be eternally grateful to women for their help in forming the characters of their sons who would then become defenders of the free nation.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ GHT, 10/7, 1862.

⁵⁷ GHT, 10/7, 1862.

⁵⁸ Nilsson, 2000, pp. 120ff. Also the Poltava celebrations in Göteborg were open celebrations, as it was the sharpshooter movement that was one of the main organizers of the festivity.

⁵⁹ NA, 12/7, 1862. När mannen slår, är det hon, som helar, när det är mannens hårda lott att utbreda skräck och förödelse, är det hennes ljufwa del att sprida frid och hugsvalelse.

⁶⁰ NA, 12/7, 1862.

The role of women was thus restricted to a more private, and closed, sphere in society, as mothers and educators of future soldiers and political actors within the nation. The female role was passive in a public and political context but, on the other hand, a woman had concrete power within the family. In this context, Lotta Tornbjör underlines that the mother's task in educating her children was given a more specifically ideological significance in the nineteenth century.⁶¹ Mosse contradicts this, saying that women had an abstract political role as national symbols but in daily public life they had no real function in the nineteenth century. Their functions were limited to the private sphere.⁶² The opinion of Mosse does not fit in the context of the Poltava festivals. Women in Örebro manufactured a banner which as a symbol of their concrete and daily support for the men who was to fight for the fatherland.

The judge continued in saying that the "beautiful banner" was to symbolize the native county (fosterbygd). It would be the task of the sharpshooters to adopt the strength and courage that the banner symbolized, when they were to fight for the fatherland. He asked the sharpshooters if they, with bravery and courage, they would fight for and defend their banner, i.e. the nation, if it were to be necessary? The sharpshooters answered with a striking yes, and thereafter they all raised hands to touch their bayonets. They publicly presented their patriotic feelings towards the nation and their preparedness for sacrifice for their fatherland.⁶³

The dramatic tension is noticeable as the judge used melodrama when speaking of the banner in order to accentuate female presence in society. He created a small theatrical dialogue within the speech when he asked the sharpshooters whether they would be ready to defend their fatherland. The culmination came when the sharpshooters touched their bayonets. This symbolic action drew the spectators' attention to what was said. The taking of an oath echoed the culture of the French Revolution, when people often gathered around a monument or liberty tree to swear their loyalty to the new French Republic.⁶⁴ In the nineteenth century male bodies and male virtues were indeed considered as symbols of society and its "need for order and progress". The concept of masculinity and male stereotypes were inter-connected with the contemporary social context and "hope for the future".⁶⁵

The remaining part of the festivity was entirely dedicated to the memory of the battle of Poltava and to the soldiers who had sacrificed themselves there. The most important speech was made by a local schoolmaster, Brodén, who, according to *Nerikes Allehanda*, was forceful about the great memory of Poltava, representing the same male virtues as the soldiers that were

⁶¹ Tornbjör, 2002, p. 33.

⁶² Mosse, 1996, p. 9.

⁶³ NA, 12/7, 1862.

⁶⁴ See Hunt, 1984.

⁶⁵ Mosse, 1985, pp. 23f. ; Mosse, 1996, pp. 7, 9 and 15.

honored. The entire ceremony was permeated by male characteristics which signified the desire for progress in a national context. Brodén asked himself why, so far, the Swedish people had not honoured the memory of Charles XII and his soldiers. He wondered why in the 1860s it had suddenly become important to reanimate the memories of Poltava and its fallen heroes.⁶⁶

The speaker explained past forgetting by the fact that already in elementary school the Swedish people learned to consider the battle of Poltava as a day of great misfortune for the nation. It had been a devastating defeat for the Swedish empire in the eighteenth century and, therefore, one did not feel proud of what had happened. Brodén claimed, however, that the soldiers had fallen with dignity and with their heads held high, fighting to the bitter end. Elementary school education certainly had an impact on the shaping of historical knowledge and Brodén regretted this influence in the case of Poltava.⁶⁷

Notwithstanding education in schools, the Poltava festivals were a sign of a novel reanimation of the past. Brodén explained this with reference to the fact that Russia had decided to keep only one annual celebration of a military victory, namely the victory over Sweden at Poltava in 1709.⁶⁸ It was rather flattering for Sweden, because if Sweden had been important to Russia in the eighteenth century then, still in the 1860s, it seemed to retain a certain significance for the eastern neighbour. Sweden should be considered as a European "outpost of light and freedom against darkness and serfdom" in Russia. Light was here associated with freedom fighting against a darkness where people had to endure serfdom and oppression. This metaphor justified continuing Swedish hatred of Russia in nineteenth century, since Russia challenged Sweden with its choice to exceptionally celebrate Poltava as a national holiday.⁶⁹ Swedish liberals interpreted the Russian choice as an incitement to prepare for their country's defence, together with the rest of Europe, against Russian despotism and hegemony. The forming of sharpshooter corps was such a preparation.⁷⁰

The future of Russia was described as horrible, as it, over centuries, had enslaved and oppressed its population for the benefit of the rich groups in society. In this sense, Poltava had had a positive effect on Sweden as a nation, since the country had managed retain its independence and gain freedom, prosperity, and belief in the future. Brodén hoped that some of

⁶⁶ NA, 12/7, 1862.

⁶⁷ NA, 12/7, 1862. Norborg, 1993. Andersson, *Sveriges historia under 1800- och 1900-talen*, 2003, p. 40.; Tornbjör, 2002, pp. 45-46, 121-123. ; Porciani, 1997, pp. ?.

⁶⁸ Fellenius also stressed the importance of that fact. As a result of the national Poltava anniversary in Russia, hate against Russia had been reanimated among Swedish patriots. See Fellenius, 1936, p. 16.

⁷⁰ NA, 12/7, 1862.

the “bravery” and “love of the fatherland”, which had driven the soldiers at Poltava, would exist also within present soldiers who might have to defend Sweden against Russian despotism.⁷¹

After the speech different patriotic songs, such as “King Charles the young hero”, “Hear us Swea”, and “Our God is us a mighty castle”, were performed by the choir. The general commander of Örebro sharpshooter association exclaimed “God save King and Fatherland” after which the sharpshooters paraded before the banner. The banner was honoured as it was an important symbol of the common fatherland. By means of parading before the banner, the sharpshooters were paying their respect to the nation as well as to the king, since king and fatherland were two concepts that were amalgamated within the symbol of the banner. The banner referred to the nation and as the Swedish nation was a monarchy, the nation was headed by the king. Thereafter, the Poltava festivity in Örebro ended.⁷²

The speech of Brodén was a rhetoric monologue within the festivity which aimed at clarifying the political ideas of the festival, as well as directing the attention of the spectators. In order to get the attention of the participants in the festivity, as well as the general spectators, it is of course of value how a speaker performs his speech. Here I use the word “perform” which has a more theatrical connotation than „making a speech“.

The festivity in Örebro was an open celebration in the sense that most citizens could participate or, at least, watch the Poltava celebration, if they wished to do so. The fact that the local sharpshooter corps were the main carrier of the procession render it possible to assume that the festivity was fairly open to people from all classes to participate and watch. The main idea of the sharpshooter movement was, indeed, that it should be an association where the people in general could get military training in order to be able to help out in defending the fatherland. A procession is a fairly open event as the people who do not actively participate can at least watch from the streets and in that way is present as spectators.⁷³

Drama in the hall

Closed celebrations

The Poltava festival in Stockholm

On the 9th July 1862, a Poltava festivity was organized at *Cirkus*, a theater in Stockholm. The festivity was mainly organized due to influence from Polish agents who had come to Sweden

⁷¹ NA, 12/7, 1862.

⁷² NA, 12/7, 1862. Kung Carl, den unge hjälte, Hör oss Svea, och Vår Gud är oss en mäktig borg.

⁷³ Cf. Hunt, 1984; Darnton, 1985, pp. 110-125 ; Ryan, 1989, pp. 134ff.

earlier in 1862. Their aim was to arouse public opinion in favor of Swedish support to Poland in case a liberation war against Russia was to become a reality. However, the general intention behind the festival in Sweden was to spread anti-Russian feelings within the country. Russia was described as the great undemocratic and oppressive country in the east.

The fact that Poland since many years had been oppressed by Russia fitted well with the anti-Russian atmosphere among Scandinavian radicals. August Blanche, August Sohlman, J.J Nordström and Emil v. Qvanten wanted to diffuse anti-Russian propaganda in order to arouse public opinion in favour of declaring war against Russia. Russia was not only seen as the dangerous enemy in the east, but also as a country which was the incarnation of a despotic and undemocratic constitution. Therefore, it was essential for Sweden, and Europe, to resist Russian political and military influence in order to continue the path towards modern and democratic constitutions. The fact that some ardent Finnish radicals, such as J.J Nordström and Emil von Qvanten, were among the central figures of the pro-Polish propaganda was a sign that a supposed war with Russia was expected to liberate also Finland from Russian domination. The pro-Scandinavian Finns were in favour of a reunion with Sweden.⁷⁴

The opinion of *Fäderneslandet* was, however, diverging from the organizers of the Poltava festivals as the paper criticized the idea behind and the persons who had decided to organize the festival. On the 5th July *Fäderneslandet* said that "It seems now to be decided by some poor souls that the Pultava day shall be 'celebrated' on Wednesday in the manège of Mr. Motander at the royal Djurgården".⁷⁵ However, the newspaper underlined the fact that the general opinion was that a party like that would not win the support of the Swedish people. If one wanted to organize a national celebration, then the people would need to agree on this event. The paper claimed that it was rather some few persons who claimed to act on behalf of the Swedish people. These few persons were showing off to get foreign attention.

Fäderneslandet found it ridiculous to celebrate the memory of Poltava, which was the day "from which Sweden can date its pending stroke of political powerlessness, from which it still has hardly had time to recover."⁷⁶ The radical popular newspaper *Fäderneslandet* totally rejected the idea of celebrating the Poltava day, since such a celebration would only confirm the power of Russia and its undemocratic and oppressive governing system.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Cf. Postén, 1982, p. 231.; Engman, 2004, pp. 180-181.

⁷⁵ *Fäd.*, 5/7, 1862. "Det tyckes nu vara afgjort af några småsjälar att Pultavadagen skall 'högtidlighållas' om onsdag i hr. Motanders manège à kongl. Djurgården."

⁷⁶ "från hvilken Sverige daterar sin straxt derefter inträffade politiska vanmakt, hvarifrån det ännu knappast hunnit repa sig."

⁷⁷ *Fäd.*, 5/7, 1862.

In fact, *Fäderneslandet* considered the organizers of the Poltava celebration as a pro-Russian party. The aim of the festivity was, according to *Fäderneslandet*, to collect money for a statue in honour of Charles XII. The idea was certainly nice, but Charles XII was a hero too magnanimous to deserve to be put on a square somewhere, like any other past personality. The paper found it, in any case, to be absurd to start a subscription for a statue of Charles XII while one was celebrating a Russian holiday. The two intentions were contradicting each other. It would have made more sense to celebrate and honour Charles XII for all the victories he won, rather than for the only decisive defeat that he suffered. Therefore, the Narva day would have been the better choice, *Fäderneslandet* argued. "The Narva day is not far away in time. Would it not be possible to wait until then? If one wants to honor a brave man, should it not be done due to his victories rather than his defeats, and that our name day speakers' need to express themselves ought not to be more urgent than that they would be able to hold their tongue for another couple of months without bursting?"⁷⁸ The radical paper stayed suspicious towards reanimating the memory of Poltava.

Decorations of the festivity hall

The columns at *Cirkus* were decorated with festoons and the family coat of arms of generals who had fought at Poltava.⁷⁹ In the background of the theater was put a statue of Charles XII which, according to *Aftonbladet*, was also surrounded by Swedish flags. Next to the stage was a platform which had been decorated with banners of nations who had been to war against Charles XII.⁸⁰ A monogram of Charles XII, surrounded by the Swedish, Finnish, Italian, Polish and Hungarian banners, was one of the central decorations at *Cirkus*.⁸¹ The Swedish banner was put together with those of countries which in contemporary times were, or had been, fighting for their independence from oppressive and dominating foreign great powers. The identification with more revolutionary nations was, however, to be understood in a symbolic way. Sweden wanted to liberate itself from the four Estates so as to become a democratic and

⁷⁸ Vi hafva ju icke långt till Narva-dagen. Skulle det icke gå an att vänta till dess? Vill man förherrliga en tapper man, bör det väl snarare ske för hans segrar än för hans nederlag, och våra namnsdagstälars talträngdhet måtte väl icke vara större, än att de utan att spricka skulle kunna hålla munnen några månader?" *Fäd*, 5/7, 1862.

⁷⁹ For example the coat of arms belonging to the families Rehnsköld, Lewenhaupt, Creutz, Piper, Rosen, and Sparre. Furthermore, there were coat of arms of Svea, Gothe, Vendes and Stockholm, and some of the counties. See *AB*, 10/7, 1862.

⁸⁰ *N.Y.T.*, 2/8, 1862; *AB*, 10/7, 1862.

⁸¹ The decorations had been made by Mr Callander.

modern nation in Europe. In order to legitimate the Swedish struggle for democratic freedom, liberals compared it with the struggles of other freedom fighting nations in Europe.⁸²

The evening at Cirkus

The festivity started with a music corps playing "Yield you fugitive memories of time"⁸³ which was followed by a speech of Mr J.J Nordström, the director-general of the central board of the Swedish national antiquities. Nordström described the history of Charles XII and his battles with Russia during the first decade of the eighteenth century. He hailed the festival for commemorating and honouring the brave soldiers who had fought and sacrificed themselves on the battlefields. Even though Sweden had lost much territory and power in the defeat at Poltava, "what we, thanks to them, have kept is much more – our ancestors faith, the sacredness of our laws, our nationality, our [...] freedom."⁸⁴ The speaker stated that Russia was the natural enemy of Sweden in its period as a great power. To a certain extent, this hostility depended on the motto of Russia "(t) o the Baltic sea" and, therefore, Sweden's motto had had to be "not to the Baltic sea".⁸⁵

Nordström interpreted Poltava as a day of misfortune, not just for Sweden, but for the entire Europe. Looking back in the mirror, the political events which had followed on Poltava were evidence of that misfortune.⁸⁶ Nordström rounded up the speech by describing Charles XII as a great and noble warrior who had been loved and respected by the Swedish people. Therefore, he hoped that the statue that was to be raised to the memory of Charles XII would carry on the memory of the king as a great warrior and hero. Charles XII was described as a hero who fell in the hands of destiny while fighting for the exclusion of barbaric nations from Europe. „It was the cause of European civilization for which he was struggling and the protective wall he built during his era, on which one is still building today, i.e. the resurrection of the miserable Poland, as the only safe protection against the wild hordes from the east.“⁸⁷ The two countries, Sweden and Poland, were seen as having a connection, as their so-called „mission“ was to protect Europe from eastern tyranny. Russian expansion was considered a threat to western civilization.

⁸² See Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 16ff.

⁸³ Viken tidens flyktiga minnen.

⁸⁴ AB, 10/7, 1862.

⁸⁵ AB, 10/7, 1862.

⁸⁶ Nordström was probably thinking of Poland and its different partitions during the eighteenth century when Russia and the Habsburg Empire divided the territories of Poland between them.

In the theoretical chapter, I discussed that ritual have an emotional element which finds its expression through drama. Ritual evolves into a social drama in which melodramatic incentives are used in order to display politics. In the speech above, Nordström wanted to state that the battle of Poltava resulted in considerable losses for Sweden but, still, this country did not loose its independence. Melodramatic elements suited, in addition, an expression of Swedish animosity towards Russia. The protagonist in the drama was Charles XII who was presented as a noble warrior who fell while fighting for civilization against barbaric powers.

Constantly re-animateing the past, as well as celebrating contemporary heroes, were methods frequently utilized in nineteenth century Europe. In Sweden in the 1860s, past and present heroes, and their characters, underlined the need for certain male virtues, and the heroes were presented as models of behaviour before the people in order to convince public opinion about liberal political intentions.⁸⁸

August Sohlman, the editor of *Aftonbladet*, read the poem "To the Fatherland"⁸⁹ which had been written especially for the Poltava festivity in Stockholm. The following stanza emphasized the great power era in Swedish history:

Fatherland!
The land of great deeds!
Mother for the fighters and jarls of the sagas
Mother for Sturar, Gustafver and Carlar!
Feel what you once were;
Still you have
Strength for dawning days in the future.⁹⁰

The stanza explained initially that Sweden had been a land of « great deeds » which indicated that great deeds would once again be possible. However, future deeds would not be carred out on the battlefield but on the peaceful arenas of democracy and progress. The expression was, however, rather vague. The dawning days of the future might have alluded to the coming of a parliamentary reform, but it might also have referred to the hopes for an all-Nordic union. Still, the stanza proclaimed Swedish progress in general.

The Swedish nation was described as a mother who had managed to give birth to sons incorporating the right male virtues which had made them into great fighters and warriors. Therefore, the mother (nation) was to be able to once more give birth to great men who would sacrifice themselves for democracy and progress. Female presence connected to the ideal of a

⁸⁷ N.Y.T, 12/7, 1862. „Det var den europeiska civilisationens sak han förde, och den skyddsmur han under sin tid byggde på, på den bygger man ju ännu idag, nemligen upprättandet af det olyckliga Polen, sasom det enda säkra värdet mot österns vilda horder.“

⁸⁸ See Mosse, 1996, p. 1-15 ; Mosse, 1985, pp. 23, 29-33, 45-47.

⁸⁹ Till Fosterlandet. Herman Säterberg was the author of the poem.

⁹⁰ AB, 10/7, 1862.

mother who knew how to educate her sons to become great men on the coming political battlefield.⁹¹

The last three lines stressed the necessity of remembering the strength and power which once had existed in Sweden, traits that could be important to reanimate in the future. Behind the idea of Poltava festivals lay the influence from the Polish agents who were assisted by radical liberals in Stockholm. With poems similar to the above mentioned, the radicals hoped to inspire Swedish public opinion in favour of Poland. The Poltava festivities were there to communicate support, economic as well as military, for Poland in its liberation struggle against Russia.

The other speakers at *Cirkus* all dwelt on Poltava as a turning point in Swedish history.⁹² The 9th July had, however, not only been a tragic day. It had also brought something beneficial to the country. Sir P.R Tersmeden focussed on Sweden's monarchic family, which was loved by the people, and on the fact that Sweden had conserved an ancient people's freedom, "even though still limited by a good deal that is strange to its nature and that have a checking effect on its development."⁹³ Here Tersmeden was referring to the system of the four Estates and his criticism was integrated into the context of honoring the battle of Poltava. Furthermore, the speaker argued that Sweden's past greatness had not been forgotten in central Europe, though the country was situated in the distant north. Europe still looked at Sweden with interest regarding future developments, such as the coming resolution on the proposal for a new democratic representation and the issue of a Scandinavian union. Such political reforms were to bring a prosperous future to all Nordic countries. Europe's interest was no longer concentrated on the military strength and war efforts of Sweden but rather on its internal political reforms.

The last part of the festivity at *Cirkus* was, according to *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, the highlight of the evening. August Sohlman made his speech dressed up in his uniform as commander of the 9th company of Stockholm sharpshooter corps. Sohlman presented Charles XII as a national hero. He described, dramatically, that tears filled his eyes when thinking of "this august Swedish figure rising himself in all his splendid simplicity, alone with his sword and his bible, with his pure morality, his sincere godliness, when I see this courage, this calmness, this never-failing strength of mind during the most severe misfortunes, when I see this heroic personality, which could not give in, only fall."⁹⁴ The dramatic performance of August Sohlman, dressed as commander of the sharpshooter corps, was a symbolic demonstration of the need for a voluntary national defense. The sharpshooter associations were to be compared to

⁹¹ Tornbjør, 2002, pp. 33f.; Edgren, 1996, pp. 234f.; Mosse, 1996, pp. 9ff.

⁹² Sir P. R. Tersmeden, the Danish librarian Frederik Barfod, August Blanche, and August Sohlman

⁹³ AB, 10/7, 1862.

⁹⁴ N.Y.T., 2/8, 1862.

the heroic soldiers of Charles XII. They should be prepared to defend their fatherland at any time, if an attack from Russia, the great enemy in the east, would occur.

The theatrical elements in the quotation were clear. August Sohlman was the protagonist of the performance at Cirkus. King Charles XII was the protagonist in the story told. The performance of Mr Sohlman had obvious melodramatic tendencies as the audience could watch editor Sohlman in an outfit which suited the ambience of the story.⁹⁵

Sohlman stressed the male virtues of Charles XII to communicate that contemporary Swedes ought to possess the same virtues. With brave, strong, unselfish and calm citizens the fatherland would successfully be heading towards a prosperous future. Therefore, it was of essence to reanimate the historical past, when the soldiers had been heroes who did not hesitate to sacrifice themselves on the battlefield. If contemporary citizens were to realize the need for such virtues, then they would be able to bring progress and democracy to the Swedish nation. The battlefield might not have been a real war zone as in 1709 but a political battlefield of ideas and beliefs. In addition, Sohlman argued that Charles XII had fought with the "sword and the bible" which underlined that the battles had been fought also in the name of the Lutheran-Evangelic faith. State and religion were equally necessary in order to defend the fatherland for the future. A progressive and democratic society ought to be a protestant society and, therefore, Sweden had to fight Catholicism in all its versions, as it was considered as a religion that oppressed the people by cooperating with absolute and tyrant great powers.⁹⁶

The speeches were reported to have been followed by applause and the playing of music pieces such as "the march of Björneborg" (Björneborgarnas marsch), "Hail to thee, you high north" (Hell dig, du höga nord) and "King Charles, the young hero" (Kung Carl, den unga hjälte) in between the speeches. There was a general national romantic sentiment throughout the evening. The North was described as destined to great deeds. The playing of "the march of Björneborg" further indicated the thoughts on liberating Finland from Russia. The festivity ended with the singing of the royal anthem (folksången) and afterwards the music corps continued to play patriotic music from the balcony of *Cirkus* until around 10 o'clock in the evening.⁹⁷ Singing patriotic songs, which alluded to the past as a great power, was understandable as the festivities were honouring one of the last great battles of the Swedish great power, but these songs also pointed to a future great Sweden.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Regarding melodramatic dynamics, see Hadley, 1989, pp. 9-15.

⁹⁶ See *Grundtvig – nyckeln till det danska?*, editors Hanne Sanders & Ole Vind, Centrum for Danmarksstudier, Lund, 2003. ; Jarlert, A., *Sveriges kyrkohistoria Band 6. Romantikens och liberalismens tid*, Stockholm, 2001. The very close relationship between church and society that had existed in the beginning of the nineteenth century started dissolving and becoming less forceful in the middle of the same century.

⁹⁷ AB, 10/7, 1862. See further Rearick, 1985.

⁹⁸ Hobsbawm, 2001, pp.1ff ; Smith, 2000, pp. 50-60. ; Ringrose, 1993, pp. 1-15.

The Poltava festival in Stockholm was a closed celebration as it, on the one hand, was organized indoors with a limited amount of participants. Furthermore, the organizers of the festival were some of the main newspaper editors in the capital, together with some politicians from the Burghers' and the Nobility Estates. They aimed at convincing participants who could afford to pay a subscription for a statue and managed to get a ticket for the festival. The festival was organized in a theater hall on Djurgården, a big park in the center of Stockholm, which was another way of fending off the lower classes of society.

The Polish-Swedish Committee

In the beginning of 1863, the Polish Swedish committee was founded in Stockholm in order to organize the fund raising activities in support of Poland. The secretary of the committee was the librarian and author Harald Wieselgren. Other members of the committee were A.C. Raab, F.W Stael von Holstein (nobility), August Blanche (Burghers' Estate), Per Nilsson, Jonas Andersson (Peasants' Estate members), A.W Uhr, Sir. P.R. Tersmeden (royal secretary), Emil von Qvanten (writer), Julius Mankell (captain of the army), and L.J. Hierta (newspaper owner).

A general call for subscription funds and donations was sent out from the committee in Stockholm and published in most of the Swedish press. The committee member Tersmeden listed all towns in which subscriptions were made. The towns were, for instance, Stockholm, Eskilstuna, Södertälje, Lund, Nora, Falkenberg, Halmstad, and Göteborg.⁹⁹

Below I will quote the Polish freedom hymn which became a, more or less, obligatory hymn in all Poltava festivities and meetings. It was sung throughout the country, on every occasion, in order to honour and express sympathy to the Polish people.

God who, in ancient times, powerfully has protected
Our country, oh, you, who want to protect it,
See now in grace to the people, see how it suffers,
Locked in bonds, suffering in castle and in hut!
Hear us in grace, o Lord, when we pray,
Give us our land, o, tear the chain of oppression!

Lord, in battle for faith and for your honour
Victory we have won, you brought us ahead.

⁹⁹ Fellenius, 1936, pp. 170f. According to Fellenius, the subscription lists, which also were quoting specific statements that often followed the donations, are stored in archives in Warzawa. The funding amounted to 50-60.000 rdr.

You let the world be testimony of our power,
You gave us honour, when our pain concerned you.
Hear us in grace, o Lord, when we pray
Give us our land, o, tear the chain of oppression!

Lord, give Poland back its ancient splendour,
Let the country prosper, as the oppressor oder!
Let it taste the rest of peace, again,
Do not punish anymore! O, see how the people is bleeding!
Hear us in grace, o Lord, when we pray,
Give us our land, o, tear the chain of oppression!

Lord, your arm can crush the arm of violence,
The God of Justice! Before you, the strong falters!
Thwart their advice, redeem us from serfdom,
Light the holy torch of hope in our breast!
Hear us in grace, o Lord, when we pray,
Give us our land, o, tear the chain of oppression!

Holy God! You, who can do wonders,
Let us no more wander in sorrow and bonds!
The people on earth oh are worthy gathering
Free in peace, in love to each other!
Hear us in grace, o Lord, when we pray,
Give us our land, o, tear the chain of oppression!¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Fellenius, 1936, p. 177. The hymn was said to have been written down by some of the leaders, Czartoryski and Kalinka, of the organisation of Polish agents in Europe.

Gud som bevarat uti forna tider
mäktigt vårt land, ack, du, som vill det skydda,
se nu i nåd till folket, se det lider,
slutet i bojor, kvält i slott och hydda!
Hör oss i nåd, o Herre, när vi bedja,
skänk oss vårt land, o, slit förtryckets kedja!

Herre, i strid för tron och för din ära
seger vi vunnit, framåt du oss förde.
Du om vår kraft lät världen vittne bära,
ära oss skänkte, när vår nöd dig rörde.
Hör oss i nåd, o Herre, när vi bedja,
skänk oss vårt land, o, slit förtryckets kedja!

Herre, giv Polen fädrens glans tillbaka,
Landet låt blomstra, som förtryckarn oder!
Låt det igen få fridens vila smaka,
straffa ej mer! O, se hur folket blöder!
Hör oss i nåd, o Herre, när vi bedja,
skänk oss vårt land, o, slit förtryckets kedja!

Herre, din arm kan våldets arm förkrossa,
Rättvisans Gud! För dig de starka vackla!
Stäck deras råd, ur träldom oss förlossa,
tänd i vårt bröst det helga hoppets fackla!
Hör oss i nåd, o, Herre, när vi bedja,
skänk oss vårt land, o, slit förtryckets kedja!

Helige Gud! Du, som kan under göra,
låt oss ej mer i sorg och bojor vandra!
Jordrikets folk, ack värdes sammanföra
fria i frid, i karlek till varandra!
Hör oss i nåd, o, Herre, när vi bedja,
skänk oss vårt land, o, slit förtryckets kedja!

The essence of the liberty hymn was that the Polish people had been suffering for a long time under a tyrannic rule. The hymn appealed to God so that he might hear the pledge of the Polish people to liberate it from serfdom and despotic bonds. The Polish people asked for help to return to its "ancient" splendour as a free and independent people through combatting the Russian eagle. These were examples of the generally important concepts in the nationalist and patriotic discourse of the liberal and sharpshooter movements in Sweden in the nineteenth century. A nation was suffering and enduring an undemocratic and even oppressive government. One would have to fight and be brave in order to defeat such an evil and tyrannic power which was bringing misery and serfdom to the people. Furthermore, one referred to an ancient golden age when the people had enjoyed freedom and independence, and one wanted to re-animate that golden age. Freedom, independence and democracy should bring prosperity to the nation and secure a promising future.¹⁰¹

Charles Day in 1863

Parliamentary Reform

An important event in 1863, the 5th January, was the royal proposal for a parliamentary reform. In reality, the draft bore the print of Prime Minister Louis De Geer. According to *Öresundsposten*, the proposal for a new *Riksdag* Act aimed at, among other things, to create: a) two chambers with equal competence and authority, b) ordinary parliamentary session to take place in January every year, c) appointment through elections, d) an ordinary parliamentary session which were not to dissolve itself before having worked for four months, if the king had not decided otherwise.¹⁰² In the beginning of February the proposal was proclaimed as resting and could, according to the constitution, not be concluded until a following *Riksdag*.¹⁰³ Therefore, there was a great eagerness that year to celebrate the Charles day in order to honour

¹⁰¹ See Hobsbawm, 2001, p. 1-15.; Smith, 2000 ; Ringrose, 1993 ;Kurumäki, 2000 ; Viroli, 1995, pp. 97ff ; Nilsson, 2000, pp. 121ff, regarding the function of lyrics and melody in order to mix traditional and revolutionary concepts in the nineteenth-century Swedish festival and political culture.

¹⁰² ÖP, 20/1, 1863.

¹⁰³ ÖP, 10/2, 1863.

king Charles XV for having initiated a parliamentary reform that, hopefully, would prove successful also in the last reading.

Charles Day Preparations

On the 28th January, Charles Day, the festivities were frequently held all over the country after the presentation of the reform proposal. Therefore, the people expressed its joy and gratefulness to the king by, more than usual, celebrating his name day.

On the 17th January in 1863, *Öresundsposten* published an article on the establishment of the *Artisans Club* (Handwerkarnes Klubb) in Helsingborg in 1862 which, according to the paper, formed a decisive moment in town history. The article reported on the most recent meeting of the club, on which the new reform proposal, which had arrived by telegraph the same day, had been discussed thoroughly. The meeting had deliberated on the foundations for a new representative assembly.

Property qualifications for the vote were found to be an unreliable way of measuring persons "honor, character and patriotism". Though not perfect, such qualifications were, however, preferable to privileges of birth.¹⁰⁴ This meant that the meeting accepted the voting system being proposed by the government. The meeting did, also, express its satisfaction with the royal initiative in general: "When one also considered the forms of our four-legging, its movements and unwieldiness, when one considered status quo and the prospects which existed to gain a better constitution, one believed oneself to have to be grateful towards the government for the way in which it had tried to solve the question."¹⁰⁵ Before ending the meeting, the club members proposed a toast to "the newborn creation", to the freedom, and gave nine cheers for "our liberal and democratically disposed government".¹⁰⁶ The metaphor of something being born was used for underlining that the reform proposal was to be beneficial for the nation. The birth of something also implies the leaving behind of something old which in this case was to be understood as the four Estates. The Artisans' Club was an example of a kind of *Bildungs* club where the inhabitants of Helsingborg, from different classes, met to discuss politics, listen to lectures and similar activities.

In that period, *Öresundsposten* also published a series of articles on the content of the reform proposal which had been presented before the Estates. On the 20th January, an address from the king and Louis De Geer was published in which it was reported that the Swedish

¹⁰⁴ ÖP, 17/1, 1863.

¹⁰⁵ ÖP, 17/1, 1863.

¹⁰⁶ ÖP, 17/1, 1863.

people, by an act of providence, had managed to retain its liberty. Therefore, Swedes belonged to those peoples who were in the lead of the development of civilization and it "may be important, before this already weathering ground fall to pieces, to prepare a new more up-to-date form to put in place of the old one." The king and De Geer together expressed their hopes that the Estates, with "magnanimous love of the fatherland", would sacrifice their privileges in favor of a new democratic constitution.¹⁰⁷

Charles Day Celebrations

On the 2nd February, *Aftonbladet* started its reports on the celebrations of the Charles Day. The paper described that almost every town over the country had organized a festivity. The entire country wanted to express its satisfaction and joy with the new reform proposal.¹⁰⁸ Here will only be presented some few examples of Charles Day festivities in order to show the similiarity with the other rites examined in this thesis.

The Charles Day in Örebro was celebrated with a ball with some hundred invited guests.¹⁰⁹ In Norrköping, a dinner was held for a hundred invited guests. Furthermore, Norrköping workers' association marched in procession from their meeting place to the Charles John square. There the workers' choir was singing patriotic songs and, among others, the royal anthem.¹¹⁰

In Växjö, the Charles Day was celebrated with great "solemnity". The agricultural society held its annual meeting this day which was followed by a dinner in the evening.¹¹¹ At the same time the commander of the regiment of Kronoberg held a dinner for his body of officers. The officers expressed a "special feeling of gratefulness which for the moment intensified the warmth in every patriotic breast, to the beloved king, with pronounced enthusiasm." Later on, a ball was organized in the town hall which had been decorated with a transparent of the king's crown over which the inscriptions "National Arming" and "Reform

¹⁰⁷ ÖP, 20/1, 1863.

¹⁰⁸ Reports were published about festivities in Örebro, Jönköping, Växjö, Malmö, Lund, Helsingborg, Gävle, Karlstad, Visby, Hjo, Mariestad, Uddevalla, Härnösand, Falun, Östersund, Söderhamn, Avesta, Landskrona, Eskilstuna, Köping, Vadstena, Västervik, Norrköping and Ystad. However, I will only describe some of the festivities.

¹⁰⁹ A toast was proposed to the king and it was followed by cheering and the singing of the royal anthem. The toast was proposed by county governor Åkerhjelm.

¹¹⁰ The toast to the king was made by the local mayor Stolpe and the royal anthem was sung.

¹¹¹ One of the speakers expressed the general satisfaction with the reform proposal before making a toast to the king. The speech was made by circuit judge Wahlbom.

Proposal” had been written.¹¹² This was a sign of the contemporary connection between the sharpshooter movement and parliamentary reform. The inscriptions were put over the royal crown which indicated that the king was benevolent towards both parliamentary reform and sharp shooting.

Helsingborg had, as always, organized many festivities in order to properly celebrate the Charles Day and the new reform proposal. A parade marched through the town during the day, while a dinner for the local officers was held in the evening.¹¹³ The sharpshooter association had organized a ball at hotel Mollberg.¹¹⁴ In one of the speeches, the new reform proposal was described as most welcome and then the speaker gave nine cheers to the king and the fatherland. Thereafter, “From the depth of Swedish hearts” (Ur svenska hjärtans djup) was sung.¹¹⁵ In the nearby town Landskrona, the Charles Day started at noon with a parade which, accompanied by music, marched through the streets towards the local fortress, where a lot of people had assembled. In the afternoon, school children had gathered in the church to sing patriotic songs such as the royal anthem (folksången), “Hail to thee you high North”, “King Charles the young Hero”, “the march of Björneborg”, “From the depth of Swedish hearts” and the hymn “To Citizens” (from the Finnish hymn book by Runeberg).¹¹⁶ The choice of patriotic songs shows that there was a certain intention to commemorate a splendid past. For instance, the choir sang the praise to the great north and king Charles XII, which quite clearly alluded to Sweden’s past as a great power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Concepts of traditionalism and liberalism were mixed. Singing patriotic songs alluding to the Swedish past as a great power was a way of confirming the Swedish identity as an absolutist great power monarchy, while the celebration of the reform proposal presented the progressive side of the monarchic tradition. The sharpshooters and their processions through the streets indicated, on the other hand, to a certain extent the presence of a revolutionary cultural tradition, where people went out in the streets to manifest and transmit political opinions.¹¹⁷

Returning to the ball in Helsingborg, the hall had been decorated with a bust of king Charles XV. The bust was surrounded by the Scandinavian banners, coat of arms, and by two columns of sharpshooter rifles. By putting king Charles XV in the center and surrounding him with Scandinavian banners and sharpshooter rifles, the decorators expressed the dream of him as the ruling king in a future, democratized all-Nordic union.

¹¹² AB, 2/2, 1863. Toasts were proposed to the king and the reform proposal.

¹¹³ The dinner was organised by general commander von Essen.

¹¹⁴ A toast was made to the king which was followed by cheering, fanfares and the playing of the royal anthem by the sharpshooter music corps. The toast was proposed by captain Toll.

¹¹⁵ AB, 2/2, 1863. The speech was held by dr. Stenkula.

¹¹⁶ AB, 4/2, 1863.

¹¹⁷ See Hunt, 1984.; Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 222f. ; Ryan, 1989, pp. 134ff.; Nilsson, 2000, pp. 121f.

The symbols of war and fatherland were intertwined with ideas of a Scandinavian union which was a constant theme in the ritual language in the 1860s. A connection can be made with the Italian, or Piedmont, model for national unification. It has been argued that Charles XV wanted to become a new Victor Emanuel and the sharpshooter corps were constructed after the model of Garibaldi and his people's army.¹¹⁸ One expressed the desire for a new period of greatness for the Scandinavian countries in a broader union than the existing one between Sweden and Norway.

A song was performed. It had been written especially to the king and I will quote the first stanza as it sums up the general view of the king that year.

A king, who can support the throne
On the shoulder of a free nation
Of old faith and virtue,
A king, who pay attention to his people,
With law and justice to guard of honor,
He has a irresistible power
A power, built on love.¹¹⁹

The king was described as having given great attention and love to the people in working in favour of parliamentary reform. Stressing that the people supported the throne, king and people were put in a context of mutual cooperation in the poem. The king was described to have an "irresistable power" but his power depended on the trust and love of the people. The king was the father in the house, the kingdom, but he did not have absolute power as in earlier centuries. Indeed, the king had "to pay attention to his people" not because he chose to be benevolent, but because the constitution did not give him supreme power and, thus, he depended on the approval of the nation.¹²⁰

In Gävle, a festive dinner and a ball were organized.¹²¹ In a speech at the ball, there was expressed gratefulness towards the king for having taken the initiative to a democratic reform. "Thus goes the name of Charles over the world and reanimates the memories from a great period with the new time's not less great, but peaceful conquests on the way of conviction. [...]" The parallels to Sweden's past as a great power were constantly made in the speeches on Charles Day, thereby expressing that Charles XV had known to act magnanimously, just as his ancestors, in supporting the new reform proposal.¹²² The concept of time in the "patriotic

¹¹⁸ Eimer, 1978, pp. 415-421; Holmberg, 1946, pp. 370ff; Postén, 1982, pp. 227f.

¹¹⁹ AB, 4/2, 1863. Before the dancing started, toasts were made to the king, the reform proposal and the cabinet of ministers, followed by songs and fanfares.

¹²⁰ Hunt, 1992, pp. 5f, 90f.

¹²¹ The ball was organized by county governor Asker.

¹²² Regarding reimagining the past in festivals, see Ozouf, M., "The Festival in the French Revolution", in *Histories. French Constructions of the Past*, edited by Jacques Revel and Lynn Hunt, New York, 1995, pp. 408ff.

rhetoric“, which has been discussed by Jussi Kurunmäki, connected the national past with the present and the future. Every citizen and true patriot of the nation should know the history of his/her fatherland in order to understand the connection of the past with present and future political issues.¹²³

The sharpshooter associations often played an important part in the Charles Day festivities which was also the case in Falun. There the festivities began with gun salutes after which the sharpshooter music corps, while playing, marched to the residence of the county governor. There they cheered to the king. In the evening, a ball was held where the traditional toast to the king was followed by cheering, fanfares, and the singing of the royal anthem.¹²⁴ The Charles Day festivities were similar over the country, as in most cases there were organized processions, a dinner, or a ball. Normally the mayor, or the county governor, held a speech in which was expressed gratefulness towards the king and the new reform proposal. The speeches were followed by a toast to the king. Then the people cheered, the music corps played fanfares and everybody sang the royal anthem. The local sharpshooter association was a main attraction in performing these activities

The general shaping of the festivities thus followed the pattern which was discussed in the theoretical chapter. These festivities confirmed the continuity of ritual patterns from Old Regime to the French Revolution and further on to the post-revolutionary period. The political and symbolic meaning changed over time but the formal shape remained more or less the same.¹²⁵

¹²³ Kurunmäki, 2000, p. 183.

¹²⁴ AB, 3/2, 1863. The toast was made by county governor Geijerstam.

¹²⁵ Hobsbawm, 2000, pp. 7ff.

VII. Union Day 1864

Celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the union between Sweden and Norway was the great event of 1864, and festivities were organized throughout the country. The celebrations in Stockholm, Göteborg, Örebro and Helsingborg, were reported by *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, *Fäderneslandet*, *Aftonbladet*, *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts Tidning*, *Östgöta Correspondenten*, *Nerikes Allehanda* and *Öresundsposten*. Political opinions expressed in the festivities, and opinions on the Scandinavian situation in general in these papers, will also be analyzed in order to trace the pattern of a specific Union and pro-Reform narrative. The celebrations consisted of officially sanctioned festivities and more spontaneous ones in which participation was broader and the rhetoric more radical than in the official ones.

The year 1864 was crucial as it marked fifty years since Norway had been conceded to Sweden in the peace treaty of Kiel in 1814. The relationship between Norway and Sweden had been stormy for a couple of years, before the celebration, and especially so in 1859 when the Swedish Riksdag refused to give up its right to elect a Swedish governor for Norway. Furthermore, the question of a future Scandinavian union was at its height in 1864, but campaigns on this issue also lost its momentum this year when the Swedish government refused to enter into a military alliance with Denmark. Denmark had hoped that Sweden, by entering a military alliance, would help them against Prussia (the German Confederation). The Swedish government, however, wanted to remain neutral and was afraid of throwing itself into a war with a European great power. Sweden was not prepared to sacrifice itself for the sake of Denmark or a coming all-Nordic union.¹

State sanctioned celebrations

The union celebrations were sanctioned and pre-stabilized from "above". The king had sent out instructions for morning services to be celebrated in churches all over the country. Each city council could then, of course, decide upon the local celebrations and festivities. The town Örebro can be taken as an example. On the 15th of October, an article in *Nerikes Allehanda* referred to the minutes from the latest Örebro city council meeting. The guide lines for the

¹ Hallendorff, *Dagarna på Ulriksdal*, p. 5ff; Gullberg, 1972, pp. 83f.; Holmberg, 1946, pp. 370ff.

celebration of Union Day on the 4th November had been drawn up in line with royal wishes.

The decisions were as follow:

- 1.) Request for ringing of the big church bell early in the morning in order to inaugurate the day;
- 2.) Ensure that the municipality, other corpses, among them the sharpshooters and the teachers and pupils of the Karolinska school, and other inhabitants, together with the city council, assemble in the Karolinska school house to walk in procession to the church and attend the morning service;
- 3.) Fire gun salutes during, or just after, the *Te Deum*;
- 4.) At noon, or in the evening, with help from appropriate committees, the organization of a meal for the children in the working house, the elementary schools for boys and girls, in the countryside as well as in the town, [...]also for the (hjonen) in the poor house;
- 5.) Instead of the organization expensive celebrations, 2000 rdr should be set to the disposal of the school board with the condition that the annual interest be given as encouraging prizes in the elementary schools "in memory of the union day the 4th November";
- 6.) To satisfy the desire for patriotic songs and music around the town in the evening, if the weather so permits.²

Union Festivities

From heights, from valleys, from forests and shores,
From south to north, from west to east,
Now ring with rejoice, many thousand voices:
Live, o long live our brother ties
*Long live our land!*³

² NA, 15/10, 1864. 1) Begära ringning med stora kyrkklockan tidigare på morgonen till inwigande af dagen; 2) Hemställa, att magistraten, andra kårer, deribland skarpskyttarne och Karolinska lärowerkets lärare och lärjungar samt stadens öfriga innewånare må, jemte stadsfullmäktige samlas i Karolinska lärohuset att derifrån afgå i procession till kyrkan att bewista dagens särskildt föreskrifna Gudstjenst; 3) Låta gifwa kanonsalut wid eller straxt efter *Te Deum*; 4) Låta på middagen eller aftonen genom wederbörande styrelser anordna en måltid för barnen i arbetshuset, folkskolorna för gossar och flickor, på ladugårdslogen som i staden, småbarnsskolan, bönehusens friskolor, äfwensom för hjonerna på fattighuset; 5) Att i stället för andra dyrbara tillställningar, anslå ett belopp af 2000 rdr som ställes till skolstyrelsens disposition, med willkor att rentan der af årligen må, „till minne af föreningsdagen den 4 November“ utdelas såsom premier i folkskolorna.

³ NDA, 5/11, 1864. This verse was part of a song that was performed at the festivities in the state hall on the union day. "Från höjder, ur dalar, från skogar och strand,
Från söder till norr, från vester till öster,
Nu skalla i jubel mångtusende röster:
„Lefve, o lefve, vårt brödraband!
Lefve vårt land!“

The analysis of the union celebrations on 4th November 1864 will be divided into *open* and *closed* celebrations in order to underline that there was a difference between official, state sanctioned, and locally organized festivities. This means that there was a difference between organization and participation. The rhetoric used was also different. Locally organized festivities were more open for participants from the general public and for more radical political messages. Yet, most festivities on Union Day were affected by official instructions for the structure of the celebrations.

Official drama in the street and the church

Closed celebrations

The celebration of Union Day in Stockholm on the 4th November 1864 started with a morning service in all the churches of the town. The most official and important was the morning service held in the chapel of the castle where, except for the king and the royal family, the state officials and corpses were also present. Norwegian deputations were, in addition, present in the chapel, together with other especially invited guests. The morning service began with a hymn after which the court chaplain delivered a sermon on the text from the Chronicles.⁴ The mass ended with hymn 272, "Now God thanks all his people", and with cannonades from Kastell- and Skeppsholmen.⁵

The general celebrations in Göteborg, Örebro and Helsingborg also started on the early morning of 4th November, with cannonades and bell-ringing. In Göteborg followed a procession with the city authorities and corps of the town towards the cathedral where the morning service was to be held. In Örebro, the procession marched from the Karolinska School to the church and a morning service was celebrated. In this procession military and civil corps marched, also school children and municipal officials, accompanied by music performed by the local military music corps, the sharpshooter- and elementary school's youth music corps.

In Helsingborg, gun-salutes in the morning were followed by a performance by the choral society and the music corps of the local sharpshooter association, who played and sang the hymn 302 ("Nu blott ett hjerta och en själ må Nordens söner nämnas, och allmänt väl bli

⁴ His Majesty the King had officially declared, in a decision of the 4th October in 1864, that there should be services in all the churches around the country on Union day, the 4th November 1864. The sermon was to be held on the 1st book of the Chronicles and should be followed by thanksgiving, prayer and the singing of hymn 272 (Now God thanks all his people). See NA, 5/10, 1864.

⁵ NDA, 5/11, 1864; AB, 5/11, 1864. (The Chronicles chapter 29.) The paper also reported that services were held in the Jewish synagogue and in the Catholic Church in Stockholm. Kastell- and Skeppsholmen are two islets close to the castle in Stockholm. The name of the court chaplain was Morén.

allas väl, och rätt och pligter jemnas.“) in the square in front of the town hall. The crowds then assembled in front of the town hall in order to march towards the church. At the head of the procession were carried the Swedish and Norwegian banners and then followed, “2) the Sharpshooter Music Corps, 3) the Sharpshooter Corps, 4) the School children and the teachers, 5) the Choral Society, 6) the Music Corps, 7) the Festival committee, 8) the Norwegian banner, 9) the Notabilities of the town and the Norwegians, 10) the Swedish banner, 11) the Municipal authorities, 12) the Town council, 13) the Town officials, 14) the Town’s administrative authorities, 15) the Burghers, 16) the Voluntary Fire Corps, 17) the Ferryman, 18) the Craft- and Industrial workers.”⁶

The similarities with the order of the procession in 1862, at the Garibaldi festival, are striking, although there are also many differences, such as the participation of Norwegians, of course, and of different municipal and administrative authorities. An explanation could be that it was an official ceremony and as such the municipal and administrative personnel here represented the town as a part of the state in order to accentuate the official status of the union festivities. At the Garibaldi festival, these groups participated, if they did so, as members of the local associations or clubs. Union Day was, as already mentioned, an anniversary celebration sanctioned from “above”. Therefore, the ritual was more formal and in line with a monarchic cultural tradition. The procession to the church in Stockholm consisted, for example of the royal family, state officials and other important functionaries, and resembled the hierarchical pattern of the French processions at Montpellier in the eighteenth century.⁷ The procession in Helsingborg was more mixed, enclosing both a hierarchy of selected participants, and a more open audience from other classes.

In describing the festive urban culture of industrial cities in nineteenth century England, Simon Gunn says that parades and processions “were staple elements of public life”. The idea of a festive urban culture can be applied also to the Swedish context. To march through the city in certain, often hierarchic, order was a way to express a social and political identity. The composition of the procession signalled certain changes in the “urban polity” to the spectators and to contemporaries. The route of the procession expressed, in addition, a claim to a certain public space, and thus the right to a political voice.⁸

The morning service in Göteborg began with hymn 307, “how good and delightful it is that brothers agree”⁹, after which followed a sermon delivered by the bishop. Other hymns included number 302, “Now only a heart and a soul may the sons of the North be mentioned,

⁶ ÖP, 5/11, 1864.

⁷ Darnton, 1984, pp. 115f. See also Ryan, 1989, pp. 133ff, regarding the discussion of the American parade.

⁸ Gunn, 2000, pp. 169-179.

and the common weal will be the happiness of all, and justice and duties level off".¹⁰ All the hymns elaborated on a harmonious relationship between Norway and Sweden. The union was personified as two brothers in order to emphasize the close and equal relations between the two countries.¹¹ The theme of the sermon in Örebro was Jesus' words on matrimony: "what God has joined shall man not part".¹² The union between Norway and Sweden was of God's will. This relationship would last though there were conflicts between the countries. After the morning service, the procession marched back to the main square, accompanied by music and followed by a crowd of spectators. At the square, the national anthem was played, followed by cheers and fanfares to the king.¹³

In Stockholm, the morning continued with an official union ceremony in the state hall where officials and corps participated.¹⁴ The royal family entered the hall. The ceremony began with a cantata from which I quote the last verse as it clearly refers to the the Swedish past and the deeds of King Charles XIV John.¹⁵

Do not forget, o Svea, do not forget, o Nore
The genius and the heart that tied your bond
Above your scale the Great holds
Still from heaven his blessed hand.
Still from his Carl carriage, he gazes radiantly,
Still he sends warnings from the clouds,
Death does not put out a love like his.
Raise his deed, like his honour, in splendour.¹⁶

Svea is referred to as a female personification of the nation, as the mother of the nation. Svea was not a symbol invented in connection with the revolutionary cultural tradition in the nineteenth century, but had indeed already been used in the seventeenth century. In the

⁹ „Si, huru godt och ljufligt är att bröder kunna samlas.“

¹⁰ Also number 272, the song of praise, "Now God thanks all people" was sung after the other hymns.

¹¹ See Hallberg, Peter, *Diktens bildspråk. Teori-Metodik-Historik.*, Stockholm, 1982, pp. 278ff; GHT, 4/11, 1864. "Nu blott ett hjerta och en själ må Nordens söner nämnas, och allmänt väl bli allas väl, och rätt och pligter jemnas."; NA, 5/11, 1864.

¹² "det Gud hafver sammanfogat skall menniskan icke åtskilja".

¹³ NA, 5/11, 1864.

¹⁴ AB, 5/11, 1864. Other participants were described as specifically invited guests (excellences, serafimerriddare), generals and admirals, and the Norwegian deputation.

¹⁵ The cantata was written by a professor Böttiger.

¹⁶ NDA, 5/11, 1864. Glöm ej, o Svea, glöm ej, o Nore,
Snillet och hjertat, som knöto ert band!
Öfver en vågskål håller den Store
Ännu från skyn sin välsignade hand.
Än från sin Carlvagn han strålande blickar,
Än han ur molnen varningar skickar;
Doden ej släcker en kärlek som hans,
Stige hans verk, som hans ara, i glans! Lefve o

nineteenth century she was, however, used more frequently, both as a goddess and a mother.¹⁷ The real breakthrough for female symbols of the nation, who were modeled on goddesses from the Ancient Greek tradition, was, however, the French Revolution. The Liberty allegory, which became a symbol of the new Republic, was characteristically female, wearing a Phrygian bonnet. All the female allegories had specific attributes that made them easy to recognize and remember. The best known female symbol of the French Republic was Marianne, who became the official female image of the Republic and of Liberty.¹⁸ The female figures that were used to personify the Nation, Paris, the Republic and so forth, were all presented as good mothers in contrast to Marie-Antoinette, the bad mother. There was continuous interlinking of female goddess/mother figures which were used to represent a positive image of the new Nation. It was often an abstract femininity and motherhood that was given to the new, female national symbols. They stood in clear contrast to the corporeal and aggressive traits of the queen, Marie-Antoinette.¹⁹

Charles John was likened to a God who from heaven looks down on the people in order to give them a helping hand. In addition, he was also likened to an Aesir god, Thor, who runs around with his carriage and hammer to start thunderstorms in order to "send warnings" to the people about coming perils. Such metaphors were common in the Romantic era.

The ceremony in the state hall in Stockholm was followed by a dinner held by the king in the royal castle, where the members of the Norwegian deputations were invited, the Swedish and Norwegian state councils, higher civil and military officials and the state delegate of Stockholm. A dinner was also held in the two riding school buildings of the Life Guards for 1200 men from the different guards and the Norwegian sharpshooter corps. The sharpshooter movement gained recognition as an official military representative.²⁰

According to *Aftonbladet*, the military dinner was held before the royal one because King Charles XV and Prince August had attended it. The two riding buildings had been thoroughly decorated. In the bigger building, a bust of Charles XV was surrounded by a sun and the Swedish and Norwegian banners.²¹ The sun was the symbol of supreme royal power in France during the reign of Louis XIV, indicating that royal power derived from God. In the

¹⁷ Tornbjør, 2002, p. 75.

¹⁸ Agulhon, M., *Marianne: Les visages de la République*, Gallimard, 1992, p. 14-17. In Ancient Rome, the Phrygian bonnet was worn by former slaves in order to signify that they had earned their freedom.

¹⁹ Hunt, 1992, p. 97.

²⁰ NDA, 5/11, 1864; AB, 5/11, 1864; Fäd. 9/11, 1864. *Fäderneslandet*, however, did not mention any dinner in the royal castle on the union day but reported about a festive dinner organised by the municipality the day after i.e. the 5th November.

²¹ AB, 5/11, 1864.

Scandinavian context of the 1860s, the image of the sun indicated the aims of Charles XV to head a coming Nordic union.²²

Official, open, celebrations

In Göteborg, after the morning service, people assembled in Gustav Adolf square to see the parade of the hussar regiment of Charles XV, part of Göta artillery regiment and the Göteborg voluntary sharpshooter corps. The state regiments and the sharpshooter corps united in the celebrations, just as they did in Stockholm. The symbolic undertone was that the sharpshooters were sanctioned as defenders of the fatherland. It should, however, also be read as a popular voice claiming a place for the nation within the political and military spheres.²³

In Göteborg, there were several different celebrations and parties during Union Day: a festive speech by dr. Dickson in the assembly hall of the secondary school, a well-attended fireworks on the drill-ground, and illumination of a statue of king Charles XV in Gustav Adolf square. At the illumination, the choral society and the music corps of the voluntary sharpshooter association performed patriotic songs, such as "From the depth of Swedish hearts".²⁴ In the evening, a ball was held at *Börsen*, a festive hall.²⁵ The hall was decorated with flags and coats of arms and in the background had been hung a transparent picture of Svea and Nore shaking hands. The abstract female and male figures of Svea and Nore, who are the national symbols of the two countries, was yet another metaphor for a description of a lasting union. A long line of toasts were made, all of them followed by fanfares, cheers, songs and other music.²⁶

²² See Burke, 1992; along the walls had been put rifles, sabres and bayonets. The smaller building had been decorated in a similar way with rifles and sabres, the Swedish and Norwegian coats of arms and banners. See AB, 5/11, 1864. Furthermore, it was mentioned that it had been a festive day also for the poor people in the capital, as they had been offered dinners in the poor houses (*fattighusen*) and work institutions (*arbetsinrättningar*). ; A dinner was organized by the state delegation at *Börsen* on the 5th November, where the King, Prince August, the deputation from Norway and a lot of Swedish and Norwegian state officials, were present. An address had also arrived from the workers' association in Bergen expressing that "since the idea of a union so deeply had found its way into the masses of the people, it was thus no longer a feast that was being celebrated, but a historical event that we were experiencing." See Fäd, 9/11, 1864.

²³ GHT, 4/11, 1864.

²⁴ Ur svenska hjärtans djup.

²⁵ Toasts were made to the king, followed by the national anthem, to the United Kingdoms (Sweden-Norway), to Norway and to Sweden. At the same time, at another place in Göteborg, a party was held for around 500 persons. See GHT, 7/11, 1864.

²⁶ The general festivities of the union day in Göteborg ended with a banquet the 7th November for more than 300 persons at *Börsen* where also Prince August of Östergötland was present. Other guests were the Norwegian generals Sörensen and Fleischer, general Hazelius, the president Åkerman, the Norwegian deputations present in Göteborg, deputy judge Thomle, the senior administrative officer Eger, Mr. Christensen, professor Broch, bishop Björck, the town mayor, the wholesale dealers Ekman and A.W Frestadius and so forth. See GHT, 7/11, 1864.

Speeches

The speeches at Union Day festivities told a story about the union and its past. The pro-union rhetoric glorified the past in order to legitimize its existence and propagate for an enlargement of the union in a near future. The speakers can be seen as actors who recited a story before the audience. The aim was to show that the relationship between the two countries was strong.

Returning to the state hall in Stockholm, the state official and historian F.F. Carlson made a speech on the significance of the celebration. Carlson said that the idea of a union between Sweden and Norway always had been central in the history of both countries. In the past one had, however, tried to realize the union through violence or cunning. Therefore, it was not until the days of King Charles XIV John that it came true. Misunderstandings and quarrels during the last fifty years had, certainly, appeared, but still Carlsson considered the union necessary for the "calmness, strenght and prosperity" of the north. The speech ended with Carlsson expressing hopefully that the union, "by an act of providence, should become solid and lasting", after which a cheer was raised to the king and the two peoples.²⁷ The speech confirmed the Swedish urge to see the union as something solid and calm, something that was important for a "prosperous" future for Scandinavia.

The reports on the union festivities in *Nyare Helsingborgs-Posten* expressed open support for the union between Sweden and Norway, and for the monarchy. The paper did not mention the parade of the sharpshooter corps, neither did it publish articles in which the union was put into a perspective or criticized. The songs and speeches that were published in the articles applauded the greatness of Charles XIV John and the harmonious relationship that reigned between Sweden and Norway. *Öresundsposten*, on the other hand, was more critical in its approach, and it also discussed that Denmark ought to enter the union. The following quote, from a speech by mayor Landegren, it becomes evident that *Nyare Helsingborgs-Posten* glorified the deeds of Charles XIV John and, thereby, implicitly criticized the idea of Sweden as a great power.

At a choice between Finland and Norway, a clearly seeing eye could not hesitate for long. However dear Finland was, and is, to the Swedish people, Swedish circumstances in that period could not allow it even be thought of reconquering Finland. Charles John chose the secure solution before the unsecure. He broke with our deep-rooted fantasies of being a great power, to gain the union with Norway through war, to give us a less shining, but secure, future.²⁸

²⁷ NDA, 5/11, 1864; AB, 5/11, 1864. State official Fredrik Ferdinand Carlson was minister of education and ecclesiastical affairs (ecklesiastikminister).

²⁸ NHP, 5/11, 1864. Vid walet mellan Finland och Norge kunde ett i klartseende öga icke länge tveka. Huru hårt Finland war och är för svenska folket, kunde det under Sweriges dåvarande förhållanden knappast blifwa tal om att återwinna detsamma. Carl Johan walde det säkra för det osäkra. Han bröt med våra inrotade

These lines indicated that it was Sweden who made the choice between Norway and Finland, while it in reality was the peace treaty of Kiel in 1814 and the following congress of Vienna in 1815 that decided to grant Norway to Sweden by means of a union.²⁹ Later in the speech of mayor Landegren, Charles John was described as having protected and fully respected the Norwegian nationality and its feelings of freedom and independence. The Swedish people should be delighted about the fact that Norway had managed to keep its freedom and independence within the union. However, Norway should also understand, that under "Swedish protection" it should be prepared to defend Sweden and the union against foreign threats. These were nationalist Swedish ideas on the union.

Mayor Landegren ended his speech by stressing that Charles XIV John had opened up a future full of hopes for Sweden and Norway. Coming generations would have to "take care of, preserve and further develop" the union.³⁰ In this quote, the time aspects of past, present and future are inter-connected in order to define political progress. The past had constructed the base for a inter-Nordic cooperation. Contemporary and future generations should understand that past in order to consolidate and develop the future union relationship. The recent past, based on a memory of retention, was thus introduced and used in a present context in order to discuss the prospects for the future.³¹

Local drama in the street and the festive hall

The following section will focus on celebrations that were organized on lower societal levels. They still mostly followed a general and official pattern that had been stabilized for the festivities, but the organizers and participants were different even in closed dinners. The political messages were more explicitly expressed and discussed than at the official celebrations. The speeches tended to be melodramatic performances and, thus, they confirmed a dramatic tension in order to be convincing as well as diverting for the audience.

stormaktsfantasier för att genom Norges förening med krig bereda oss om också en mindre lysande dock säker framtid."

²⁹ Norborg, 1993, pp. 240f.; Carlsson-Rosén, 1962.

³⁰ NHP, 5/11, 1864.

³¹ Carr, 1991, pp. 21-25; Koselleck, Reinhard, *Futures Past. On the Semantics of Historical Time*, 1979, pp. 15-19; See also Ozouf, 1995, pp. 408ff., regarding the use of the past in civic festivals.

Public, closed, celebrations

A more public festivity to celebrate the important anniversary day in Stockholm was a party in the evening at *Berns'salon* in Berzelii Park. It had been organized, among others, by August Blanche and A.C Raab.³² The speeches and toasts were many.³³ Toasts to Denmark expressed support for the neighbouring country, the "noble, freedom loving Danish brother people, now so heavily tried by misfortune, but if there will be any historical justice, then shall it again be dawn in Denmark."³⁴ August Blanche made an "ardent and brilliant" discourse on the meaning of the day. Some poetic verses permeated by "love of the fatherland and feelings of freedom" were read before the guests. Mr Blanche was one of the main actors performing speeches where a story of the past was connected with the present in order to underline the need for political changes. The last strophe of the following poem clearly expressed the idea of the union between Sweden and Norway.³⁵

From this day may all the clouds disappear,
From this day we must get to know each other,
So that nobody anymore can separate us
But breast against breast the tempests of time will catch up on us!
Then, safe on their old shore
Will both of the people meet their destinies,
And walk hand in hand towards light and freedom.
And if it comes to the point, manly meet the death.
For justice and truth, king and fatherland!³⁶

The tempests of time were used as symbols of war. In case of war, the two peoples should stand united and strong. Together they would fight to regain light which signified freedom.³⁷ By walking together, the two peoples would act as *one* in order to preserve national independence and democratic freedom in the North. The union was armed. However, it has to be considered that a great part of the guests at the party were military officials, and that August Blanche was one the organizers of the festivity. Therefore, it was understandable that

³² Other organizers were Cronstrand and Hamilton. Among the 400-500 guests present were the Norwegian deputation, the commanders of Stockholm's garrison regiments and other military officials, several "famous" scientists, the editors of *Fäderneslandet* and *Afionbladet*, writers, artists, estate owners, burghers and a few priests. The Norwegian deputation was a group of state functionaries, military officials and other person who had come to Stockholm in order to attend the celebrations. The newspapers did not specify the names. See *Fäd.*, 9/11, 1864; AB, 5/11, 1864.

³³ Among others to the king, to Sweden, to Finland and to the Nordic woman.

³⁴ The toast was made by professor Hamilton.

³⁵ *Fäd.*, 9/11, 1864; AB, 5/11, 1864. The toast to Finland was made by secretary Lovén and the one to the nordic woman by professor Key. August Blanche was interrupted several times in his speech by cheers, applauses, and acclamations from the listeners.

³⁶ *Fäd.*, 9/11, 1864.

³⁷ Cf. Paetau, 1990, pp. 429-468.

the more military and belligerent side of the union was emphasized, in which a future all-Nordic union would hopefully, according to the radical liberal agitators, become a military force to count on in a European political context as, for example, to protect Scandinavia against Russian attacks.

Metaphors of light indicated that a closer relationship would make it possible for Sweden to learn from the Norwegian constitution and thus succeed in gaining parliamentary reform. Such a constitutionally progressive development in Sweden would make it easier to approach the fellow union country, since both would end up on equal democratic levels. Constitutional reform would, thereby, strengthen the union. The last lines of the verse show that the people, if necessary, would sacrifice themselves for king and fatherland. These words confirmed a patriarchal view of the nation where the king was the father in his own house and the people were children and would obey him. This should be considered in the perspective of an old tradition of picturing the father and his family as a miniature of state and society.³⁸ In this context, Abigail Green has stressed that also in nineteenth century Germany the court was to be seen as a model for the entire state, which in turn was to be perceived as an integral part of society.³⁹

August Blanche described that the two peoples, fifty years ago, each had laid the foundations for their free constitutions, "[...]the work had proceeded so calmly and quietly that the world hardly had noticed it, and the European despots, [...]had time only to be embarrassed by what they saw in the North." He claimed that Norway, by means of its free and modern constitution, would always remain a great proof of the fact that a people is mature enough for freedom and democracy which was important to show to the more conservative groups in society who believed the contrary.⁴⁰

August Blanche ended the speech in defining the union as necessary for a defence against foreign attacks: "[...]each by itself is small, but united much more, and united in love – everything; and if there must be any privilege or supremacy in between the peoples, that it may only admit *the one*, who in times of misunderstandings first opens his arms, first gives a brotherly hand, and who, when war approaches our shores, gives the hardest blow to our common enemies."⁴¹

³⁸ Tornbjer, 2002, p. 139. Hunt, 1992, pp. 2f.; Nilsson, 2000, p. 141.

³⁹ Green, 2001, p. 81.

⁴⁰ AB, 5/11, 1864. „[...]arbetet hade gått så lugnt och tyst att knappast världen märkt det, och Europas despoter, [...]hunno endast bli förlägna öfver hvad de sågo i Norden.“

⁴¹ AB, 5/11, 1864. „[...]att enhvar för sig är litet, men förenade mycket, och förenade i kärlek – allt; och om någon företrädesrätt eller öfverhöghet folken emellan måste finnas, att denna då endast må medgifvas den, som i stunder af missförstånd först öppnar famnen, först räcker en bröderlig hand, och som, när ofreden nalkas våra kuster, utdelar det starkaste slaget åt gemensamma fiender.“

A Norwegian guest, vicar Brunn, gave a speech that evoked mixed feelings in the Swedish part of the audience. He argued that a complete union between the two countries was impossible for the moment. Still, Sweden lacked democratic representation for the people. However, he expressed the belief that the Swedish nobility would be broadminded enough to let go of its privileges and thus help the people to a more developed and democratic fatherland. In the discussion about constructing a broader Scandinavian union, one of the main counter arguments was that Sweden would have to reform its constitution before any of the other Nordic countries would consider such a project.⁴²

According to *Aftonbladet*, the Norwegian vicar had, with humor and joy, proposed a toast to the realization of a Swedish parliamentary reform. Norway was convinced, and strongly believed, that parliamentary reform in Sweden would bring the two peoples closer to each other. Old misunderstandings would vanish with the ratification of reform and the union would reach a higher level of co-operation and stability. The nuances in the reports were slightly different between the papers, but the general idea was the same. *Fäderneslandet* stressed stronger that the speaker should have expressed an ultimatum for reform in order to develop the union between Sweden and Norway. On the other hand, *Aftonbladet* said the speaker had only expressed a desire for reform, as it would be an incentive for Sweden and Norway to deepen their relationship within the union.⁴³ The different colouring in the reports should be understood from the perspective that *Fäderneslandet* was a radical workers' and peasants' organ that expressed its opinions in a harsh way. *Aftonbladet* was also taking a decisive standpoint in favour of reform but its language was not as direct.

Nya Dagligt Allehanda, conservative, mostly described the royal ceremony in the state hall with the following royal dinner, while *Fäderneslandet* talked about the dinner held at *Börsen* and the party at *Berns salon*. The reports in *Fäderneslandet* were focusing more on political issues and the relationship to Denmark. At the party in Berns salon, a radical liberal such as August Blanche was among the organizers and that probably attracted more liberal guests. Liberal categories such as scientists, writers, artists and the editors of the liberal voice *Aftonbladet*, and the editor of the lower working class paper *Fäderneslandet*, were among the guests. These groups can be considered to have had more radical opinions on political issues at the time. The festivity published their opinions to the Swedish government⁴⁴

⁴² Fäd., 9/11, 1864; NDA?, AB, 5/11, 1864.

⁴³ AB, 5/11, 1864.

⁴⁴ Such toasts and speeches might not have been made at the royal dinner, even though they to a certain extent were an expression of the desires of Swedish dynastic nationalism. The king Charles XV was in favour of a dynastic Scandinavian union where both Denmark and Finland would take part. Furthermore, the king supported the reform proposal, thinking that reform would bring better possibilities for developing a Scandinavian union. See Holmberg, 1946; Postén, 1982, pp. 230ff. Other festivities organized were another dinner at *Börsen* by the

Public, open, celebrations: a local procession

In Göteborg, a local, public celebration was performed by the corporations (församlingens korporationer) in the Charles John parish, which assembled in the municipality working house (kommunens arbetshus) to march in procession towards the church. This procession was organized by the parish and the different artisan guilds, corps and seamen associations. In the procession, the local sharpshooter corps marched at the head followed by the fire brigade (brandkåren) with its banner, the board of the seamen association (Sjömanssällskapets direktion) with its banners, the pupils and the teachers of the secondary school, the municipality representatives and, at the end, other members of the parish. The order of the procession was, as in the case of Helsingborg, more open than the official procession in Stockholm that same day. The local town officials were participating as representatives of the state but at the same time the procession was open to the local guilds and associations to participate and celebrate.⁴⁵ The celebrations thus permeated most parts of society as not only the king, the higher state officials and corps celebrated this Union Day in a solemn and magnificent.

In Örebro, the union festivities continued in the evening with the choir society playing and singing patriotic songs such as "Hail thee, you high North", "the North is a brother team" and "the Norwegian fjelds". The school youth and the sharpshooters' music corps played in the streets, entertaining the people gathered there to celebrate the important day. *Nerikes Nya Allehanda* ended its report on the union festivities in Örebro by expressing the hope that "the national feeling, that in this festive day have had an expression, always may remain as vivid and warm, as we hope that it, on this day, has been for all of them who live at both sides of the Keel (*Kölen*) [...]" ⁴⁶

The founding of a sharpshooter association

The sharpshooter movement and other voluntary associations were important and always present in the different celebrations of the union day in 1864. The processions and

town council, a special representation at the Royal Theatre and a military festive dinner at hotel Phoenix. See AB, 7/11, 1864.

⁴⁵ See further the discussion on page 5 in this chapter, and cf. Darnton, 1984, 115f.; Ryan, 1989, pp. 130-140.

⁴⁶ NA, 5/11, 1864. On the 9th November 1864 in *Nerikes Allehanda*, there was an article reporting that the local town council of Karlskoga had decided to grant the dog tax of the following year to the local sharpshooter corps. Furthermore, the money collected in the morning service at the Union day should also be given to the sharpshooter corps. „den nationalkänsla, som i denna högtid fått ett uttryck, alltid måtte bibehålla sig lika

public entertainment were mostly performed by the sharpshooter corps and their music sections. The sharpshooters symbolised the idea of a popular army where each man would be prepared to fight for his fatherland, if needed. The concept of patriotism was essential for the sharpshooters, as they urged the people of the nation to behave as good citizens.⁴⁷ In this context, an initiative was taken in Helsingborg, by some inhabitants in Norra Åsbo härad, to start a sharpshooter association. The general invitation was published in *Nyare HelsingborgsPosten* on the 14th November 1864. The call also appealed to the inhabitants of the neighbouring Södra Åsbo härad.

The invitation article started by describing that Charles XIV John had laid the foundations for the existing union and that his son, and grandson, had further developed the union. Therefore, in 1864 the union between Sweden and Norway had become a fraternal relationship between two neighbouring countries. The revolutionary concept of brotherhood following the elimination of a father figure was mixed with a traditional monarchic and patriarchal view of society.⁴⁸ However, the invitation recalled that “while we are rejoicing over the blessings that union and peace have brought, let us not forget our duties to make it possible also for future generations to conserve what we presently enjoy!”⁴⁹

The article continued to say that king Charles XV had had an ability to predict what would happen in the near future. Therefore, the present king appreciated the sharpshooter corps which belonged to a movement that had its roots deep among the people all over the country. Those who had decided to join the sharpshooter movements were persons whose hearts beat for “the honour and independence of the fatherland.” Charles XV had actively supported the movement: “the idea of a voluntary people’s arming, born out of the people; He has done to an issue for his royal hearth and encouragement. He has given it such an importance, that even the school boy, nowadays, needs to practice himself in handling weapons in order to better appropriate himself with the idea, that he as an adolescent, and a man, will consider one of his highest, earthly, tasks to with his own life and blood defend his fatherland.”⁵⁰

lefswande och varm, som wi hoppas att den på denna dag warit hos alla dem som bygga och bo på ömse sidor om Kölen.”

⁴⁷ See Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 191-195; Welin, 1862.

⁴⁸ Hunt, 1992, p. 2-6.

⁴⁹ NHP, 14/11, 1864. „medan wi jubla öfwer föreningens och fredens wälsignelser, låtom oss icke förgäta hwad oss åligger för att äfwen åt kommande slägter kunna bewara hwad wi för närwarande åtnjute!”

⁵⁰ NHP, 14/11, 1864. Den „frivilliga folkbewäpningsens ide, utgången från folket, har Han gjort till föremål för sitt konungsliga hägn och uppmuntran, och en sådan wigt har Han derwid fäst, att sjelfwa skolgossen numera är pliktig, att låta öfwa sig i wapens handtering, för att desto säkrare införlifwa sig med den tanken, att han såsom yngling och man har till en af sina högsta jordiska uppgifter att med eget lif och blod förswara sitt fosterland.”

Manliness, male virtues and their connection to patriotism was at the center of the invitation to found a sharpshooter corps. The sharpshooter movement was a training ground where young boys could learn to become men and adapt to male virtues and values needed in the future. The concept of manliness became decisive for true patriotic citizens within the nation during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵¹

The initiators of the invitation, further, expressed that they wanted to contribute to the movement that Charles XV had given such weight, the goal of which would be of utmost importance for the fatherland. They tried to convince the inhabitants of the region to come to the first meeting: "You who still have doubts, you who still believe that such a general national defence is not needed, you may look at the miserable, torn apart and deeply humiliated Dana, and thereafter try to put the hand on your heart and answer, if you can: It is not needed! Yes, it is truly needed today more than ever."⁵²

Press opinions about the Union

The press was loaded with articles and reports on the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the union between Sweden and Norway. During the weeks before, as well as after, Union Day questions of the future existence of a union between the two countries and of the construction of a broader Scandinavian union were frequently discussed. These articles were tools for the construction of the pro-Union narrative which, in turn, was inter-connected with the pro-reform narrative.

Two free peoples united as 'one'

On the 4th November 1864 *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts Tidning* said that "(i)f there already is something solemn and sublime in the fact that a people out of free will and in unanimity celebrate a national festival, then this impression becomes even more profound when *two* peoples unite in the same festivity[...]" The paper pointed to the fact that the Union Day had become a festival day in the towns and on the countryside in Sweden as well as in Norway. The two countries had stood side by side during the past fifty years,

⁵¹ Mosse, 1996, pp.1-15; Viroli, 1995, pp. 95ff.

⁵² NHP, 14/11, 1864. The article appealed to all interested people, not only in Norra Åsbo härad, close to Helsingborg, but to the entire region surrounding the town. „Den som ännu tvekar, den som ännu tror att ett sådant försvar icke behövs, han kan kasta en blick på den sargade, sönderbrutna, djupt fornärmade Dana, han lägga därefter handen på hjertat och svare, om han kan: ‚Det behöfs icke!‘ Jo, det behöfs i sanning i dag mer än någonsin.“

notwithstanding their own domestic problems. *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts Tidning* desired that the relationship, built on peaceful relations and common developments in fields of science, art, and industry, would continue. In such a case, Sweden and Norway could together reach the "big goal", that is, to become the Nordic outposts of civilization and, perhaps, also a guide for other countries.⁵³ Politically, the paper argued, with these words, for an elaboration of the union on cultural, economic and social fields, and it placed Sweden and Norway among the democratic nations in that period, in opposition to, foremost, Russian despotism.

Fäderneslandet argued that the union festivities made a splendid impression in the sense that the festivities had showed "the unanimous appearance of two free peoples and their declaration to the whole world, that the two are one, and that they are prepared, jointly and strongly, to maintain the independence of the Scandinavian peninsula". *Fäderneslandet* considered this to be a "splendid phenomenon in the political career of the two peoples, yes, of entire Europe!"⁵⁴ The emphasis on two peoples being one meant a demand for a closer cooperation within the union. However, this demand came from a Swedish point of view, saying that Norway should accept to become more tied to the Swedish state.

The concept of brotherhood was another metaphor used for talking about the equality and unity within the union. In November 1864, a peace treaty was signed between the German Confederation and Denmark. *Öresundsposten* argued that everybody knew that the "brother kingdom" was the victim. The peace treaty expressed that violence was the ruling law in the "old world" and that "freedom, enlightenment, and an advanced culture" were concepts that the leading zones of Europe tried to avoid. However, the great powers of violence and injustice would not, in the end, be able to suppress the general feeling of discontent among the peoples. The result would be that Denmark, in a near future, would gain a natural boundary in the south and that Denmark would enter into a Scandinavian union, something that *Öresundsposten* thought should be the aim of every "enlightened friend of the fatherland" in the Nordic countries.⁵⁵

Öresundsposten also referred to *enlightenment* and *the culture of civilization* as being characteristic of the Nordic countries, in opposition to the violent and oppressive great powers that were threatening Denmark. These concepts were used in order to define progress, which entailed the construction of an all-Nordic union.

⁵³ GHT, 4/11, 1864.

⁵⁴ Fäd., 9/11, 1864.

⁵⁵ ÖP, 8/11, 1864.

Denmark's position in the celebrations

Fäderneslandet was a radical paper with a desire for closer ties between the Nordic peoples. The paper pointed out that something was missing at the Union Day, since only Sweden and Norway celebrated. The festivities were supposed to have had a "Scandinavian significance [...] and then poor Denmark should not, in all this joy, have been as totally forgotten as it was this time."⁵⁶ *Fäderneslandet* argued ironically, that it seemed as if Denmark no longer existed as a third country in a future Scandinavian union. Instead, Sweden and Norway seemed to be satisfied with themselves in their, at least officially, brotherly relations.⁵⁷

Fäderneslandet claimed that Charles XIV John's idea of Scandinavianism still preserved the idea of a "federation". Exactly in moments as celebrations of the union "the doctrine of faith of the federation was brought forward as completely in accordance with the so called official Scandinavianism, hoc est the dynastical."⁵⁸ However, the paper continued, a union without Denmark never would gain popular support. *Fäderneslandet* clearly protested against the general meaning that had been given to the celebrations of the fiftieth Union Day. Denmark should know that it was present in the heart of the Swedish people even though it was not officially invited, *Fäderneslandet* claimed, contrary to the official celebrations.⁵⁹

Some days later, *Aftonbladet* published an article from the Danish newspaper *Fædrelandet* in which a claim was made for integrating Denmark into the celebrations. *Fædrelandet* wrote that certain conservative groups within Denmark could still feel remorse over having lost Norway to Sweden in 1814, without getting upset over losing Schleswig to Germany. However, one had to consider the two cases in a different light, according to *Fædrelandet*. It had been obvious that Norway was prepared to become independent fifty years earlier. Norway had always been rather distant from Denmark, both geographically and politically. Schleswig was, on the contrary, closely linked to Denmark. A loss of this part to Germany would be the same as cutting off a bodily part of the Danish nation.⁶⁰ The author of the article used the metaphor of a body in order to stress the weight of Schleswig to Denmark. By means of personification the author, in addition, described the pain that Denmark would feel in case of Schleswig becoming German. .

⁵⁶ Fäd., 9/11, 1864.

⁵⁷ Hunt, 1992, pp. 5f and 90f.

⁵⁸ Fäd., 9/11, 1864.

⁵⁹ Fäd., 9/11, 1864.

⁶⁰ AB, 7/11, 1864.

The Danish author pointed out that the people of Schleswig were Danes who were not going towards independence as a people, but who were to be handed over to "the most cruel[...]oppression by the vandals of modern civilization, the Germans". Therefore, *Fædrelandet* desired a future all-Nordic union, as this would be a natural step in order to secure the future peace in the North. In this context, Gullberg has argued that pro-Scandinavian newspapers already in 1863 propagated for a closer political relationship between Sweden and Denmark. They aimed at destroying the friendly relationship between Denmark and Russia which existed at the time. The Scandinavianists wanted to unite against Prussia because the general suspicion was that both Russia and Prussia might one day attack the Scandinavian Peninsula. If such an attack were to occur, Scandinavian states had to be prepared.⁶¹

Fædrelandet meant that Sweden-Norway was the only state from which Denmark could expect to find "moral" support for its national freedom. Danish Scandinavianists considered the country to be the third member in a future Scandinavian union in order to make it more powerful in relation to the surrounding great powers.⁶² After the war with Prussia one, Denmark felt remorse at having lost Schleswig. Denmark needed support in case of future conflicts. In that way, *Fædrelandet* claimed a Scandinavian union to be necessary also after the crisis of Scandinavism in 1864.

The more conservative Swedish *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* said that Union Day should be considered as a day when the Swedish people had the opportunity and desire to sympathize with a kind of union that would imply a "prosperous future for the united kingdoms, if they apprehend and develop the idea of the union in the same spirit as the founder." This original spirit was explained to have been unity in order to preserve peace. Sweden-Norway should not get involved in the wars fought on the continent.⁶³ However, the article pointed out that political Scandinavianism was something completely different, opposed the idea that this was to be celebrated at the fiftieth anniversary of union. Political Scandinavism was something started by a Danish group of politicians who wanted to save their "fatherland" by deriving advantage from the sympathies towards Denmark that existed in Sweden and Norway. Therefore, such a political union would have been negative for Sweden-Norway, because it would force this union again to take part in the general conflicts of the continent.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Gullberg, 1972, p. 95.

⁶² AB, 7/11, 1864.

⁶³ NDA, 2/11, 1864.

Opinions on Union

On the 8th November *Aftonbladet* once again stressed its approval of a Scandinavian political union in the context of Prussia trying to oppress Denmark's population. The reactionary Prussia was, on the one hand, trying to seize Danish territory and, on the other hand, threatening the democratic constitution which was so new and precious in Denmark.

Aftonbladet believed that only a European war would be able to put an end to expansionist Prussian reaction. Only unity could bring a happy end to the Danish problems. The Danish people had suffered great losses due to the war but, still, had not surrendered their loyalty, endurance and sense of patriotism. Notwithstanding the exposed situation of the Danish nation, the Prussian government continued to impose its reactionary ideas on Denmark. *Aftonbladet* wished that the Danish people would stand united in defending its democratic constitution from 1849 and not letting reactionary groups take the lead.⁶⁵

Nerikes Nya Allehanda was also in favour of a Scandinavian union and the paper supported Denmark in the conflict with Prussia. The anti-Scandinavian group in Norway was, according to *Nerikes Nya Allehanda*, responsible for many of the negative feelings towards Scandinavism. These Norwegians were afraid of every opinion or demonstration in favour of a Scandinavian union in support for Denmark in the conflict with Prussia. "But what kind of pityful fear is this, what exaggerated sensitiveness! Fear for whom and sensitiveness against whom?" *Nerikes Nya Allehanda* argued that it should be normal to show support for and greet a "brother" country in need.⁶⁶

Nya Dagligt Allehanda had a more conservative opinion on Denmark and the nationalist liberal groups in both Denmark and Sweden, who were striving for a political Scandinavian union. *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* said that it was the National party in Denmark, also called the "Eiderdanes" that put its hopes in a union. According to *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*, this party drove Denmark to destruction. Despite the failures, the National party still managed to attract people in Sweden to the political idea of a union. Swedish sympathizers were, however, described as lacking political common sense. Therefore, they continued with "their hazy ideas of a political Scandinavianism or, with other words, a political union with Denmark." These "shortsighted politicians" were said to have *Aftonbladet* as their main organ. *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* carried on saying that it regretted such a "lack of

⁶⁴ NDA, 2/11, 1864.

⁶⁵ AB, 8/11, 1864.

⁶⁶ NA, 2/11, 1864.

judgement, [...] as opinions like that do not have and never will have many followers among the thinking population of Sweden.”⁶⁷

The article continued to attack and criticize the idea of a political union. The persons involved in these ideas were keeping their aim a “public secret” within their Nordic National Association. Most members of this association were not really being interested in the general goal of a political unity with Denmark the paper continued. They were content just to “participate, hear speeches and cheer”.⁶⁸ They were a group of radicals keen on organizing festivities and dinners with cheers and speeches that in the end had only a symbolic but no real political value. The Swedish historian Carl Hallendorff called these radicals “professional political demonstrators” who had many “warm feelings” and “exuberant words” but lacked knowledge about the political reality in Europe. According to Hallendorff, the inner groups of the radicals in Stockholm were the representatives of the House of Nobility, A.C Raab and P.R Tersmeden, followed by the newspaper editors August Sohlman and August Blanche.⁶⁹

The political Scandinavian movement, and the ideas of a political union, was considered vague in *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* which said that the Scandinavianists had only negative “hatred towards Russia” and the positive memory of the Kalmar union as foundations upon which to build. The paper questioned whether any of the political Scandinavianists would be able to explain, more precisely, how they wanted to construct their union. Should it be an offensive or defensive union, a military, diplomatic and economic unity with two different royal families or, perhaps, a dynastic union? *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* considered most of the alternatives impossible, since Scandinavia would not be able to have a military power strong enough to meet the great powers in war. “Denmark-Sweden-Norway is, and cannot be, a great power.” However, *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* seemed to be in favour of a “dynastic unity” according to the Italian or French model, in which every state should sacrifice its independence for the common good.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ NDA, 2/11, 1864.

⁶⁸ NDA, 2/11, 1864.

⁶⁹ Hallendorff, C., *Illusioner och verklighet. Studier öfver den skandinaviska krisen 1864*, Stockholm, 1914, p. 127ff.

⁷⁰ NDA, 2/11, 1864. There was a contradiction in the opinion of the newspaper as it, on the one hand, said that Scandinavia could not become a great power while it, on the other hand, mentioned that it was in favour of a dynastic unity.

An ancient past: a utopia

On 4th November 1864 *Aftonbladet* published a letter written by the Norwegian peasantry in 1449. "Sweden and Norway have since ancient time been together in harmony and love; a harmony and love that shall not be torn apart, in our lifetime; and God have joined these two kingdoms, with more than a hundred miles, together. Should they part with discord, may God forbid, it would be the ruin of innumerable people, for their lives as well as their properties, in both kingdoms and especially in our poor kingdom Norway. Helas, noone wishes the kingdoms to part in discord, ever, by our will." ⁷¹ These lines referred to an ancient past, or rather, a heritage of harmony and love always reigning between the two countries. *Aftonbladet* created a connection to the past, a suggested recollection of a past that had always been present in popular minds and which would continue to be so also in the future.

The union was in such a context a natural result of an everlasting love between Swedes and Norwegians: a utopia. However, if this harmony were disturbed, then a tragedy would follow. The countries and their peoples would be sent into misery and unhappiness. The newspaper invented, or created, a suitable past. ⁷² *Aftonbladet* said that other similar agreements existed, from the fifteenth century, and that they all stressed the idea of peace, brotherly love and harmony between Sweden and Norway, no matter how the countries were actually governed. The paper continued, saying that after four hundred years, the same ideas were still present in the union that existed between the two countries. The fifty years lasting union had brought happiness and prosperity to the two countries and, also, fifty years of peace. Furthermore, *Aftonbladet* expected the union to survive into the future and hoped that Denmark soon would enter as a third member, thereby making the union complete. "Only then can it become fully developed and more ardent; only then can we become a nationality together, that gives respect and is safe in itself." ⁷³

Aftonbladet's reference to history was a typical strategy for the nineteenth century nationalist era to confirm and legitimize the present and the future. An idyllic past was re-animated as a source for a legitimization and reshaping of the future. That past was

⁷¹ AB, 4/11, 1864. „Sverige och Norge hafva sedan forminnes tid i s mja och k rlek samman varit; hvilken s mja och k rlek ej s nderslitas skall, medan vi lefvom; och hafver Gud dessa tu riken mer  n hundrade mil landfast tillsammans fogat p  l ngden med hvarandra. Skulle de  tskiljas med tvedr gt, hvad Gud f rbjude, s  vore det otaligt folks f rderf b de till lifs och gods i b da dessa riken och enkannerligen i v rt fattiga rike Norge. Thy  r det ingen v n till att d ssa tu riken n gonsin i tvedr gt skola  tskiljas, med v r vilja.“

⁷² See Hobsbawm, 2000, p. 1-5.

⁷³ AB, 4/11, 1864.

transmitted to the present by means of language.⁷⁴ *Aftonbladet* responded to the recent crises for Scandinavism, namely the conflict on the appointment of a governor in Christiania 1859, and the refusal of Sweden-Norway to support Denmark military in 1863. Therefore, the paper wanted to present a stable and harmonic union at the anniversary celebrations in order to restore an equilibrium which could be expected to incorporate also Denmark in the future.⁷⁵

Fiction and dramatic structure

The relationship between the Nordic countries was described as a fairy tale in an article in *Nerikes Allehanda* that was published some weeks before the Union Day. The joyful boy *Nore* (Norway) and the slightly older *Svea* (Sweden) were to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of their relationship. Due to „family problems“ *Nore* had had to leave *Dana* (Denmark) in 1814, with whom he had been together for 400 years, and *Svea* then took the liberty to propose to *Nore* from the other side of the fjelds. *Nore* said no to the offer but was then convinced, due to French pressure, to accept the offer of marriage. Through a prenuptial agreement, *Nore* brought with him a democratic constitution to *Svea* which would lead to many quarrels between the two countries over the years.

However, the fifty years being together had made all the small disputes insignificant in the end. The two countries had become more similar over the years. The article ended with saying that “heartliness, peace and harmony (*sämja*) have, together with many other things, become the fruit of the fifty year long union.”⁷⁶ *Nerikes Allehanda* used the structure of a fairy tale in order to describe the relationship between Sweden and Norway as harmonious and happy, even though there had been some major conflicts over the years.

A fairy tale is used to describe something that is idyllic and has a happy end. On the other hand, it might be that a fairy tale tells something that is made up and not true. Thus, *Nerikes Allehanda* wanted to make an ironic statement by saying the opposite of what the

⁷⁴ See Chapter III; Carr, 1991, pp. 22-25.

⁷⁵ See further Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 2000, p. 77; Smith, 2000, p. 53f; Ringrose, 1993, p. 9f; Hosking and Schöpflin, pp. 30-40, 1997.

⁷⁶ NA, 26/10, 1864. „Hjertlighet, frid och *sämja* har, jemte mycket annat, blifwit de femtio årens frugt af föreningen.“

union really was and had been. Therefore, the metaphor of brothers was not used, since the union could come true only after foreign pressure.⁷⁷ In reality, Sweden had had the image of being the „big brother“ within the union, and the Swedish monarchy also ruled, and had a certain power, over Norway. *Nerikes Allehanda* wanted to say that Sweden considered itself as the strong and dominating part within the union, but that Sweden in reality was the weaker one as it feared the democratic constitution which made Norway the stronger part in reality.

The metaphor of marriage was apt for the union celebrations, since one wanted to emphasize the notion of stability. The following quote will show yet another example of the metaphor of marriage. At the Union Day celebrations in Helsingborg, the union between Sweden and Norway was described as a fifty year long marriage. In this quote, as will be seen, this marriage rather resembles a non-affective contract which was patriarchal in the sense that Sweden was given more weight within the union.⁷⁸ The following lines were parts of a speech by captain Toll at the dinner in the town hall of Helsingborg on the day of the Union party in 1864.

Today is being celebrated the political golden wedding party of the united Kingdoms, - under mutual recognition from both parts, that the connection, that once was entered into out of calculation, of wisdom, have now become solidly founded on mutual trust, respect and devotion.⁷⁹

The unification between the two had become solid and is described as being based upon traditional values such as „trust, respect and devotion“, not on brotherhood.. The initial calculation did only with time evolve into an affective relationship.

Nature

What light over the land! What jubilant joy!
That rises out of Scandinavias' heart!
In notes of songs of praise to the height of heaven
Changed are the memories of pain;
From the countryside of the Goths to the shore of the Thrones
Two people now mix their voices
In prayer to the God, who's omniscient hand
Have united them with the spirit of love

The time that has been, is no more -
It has fled on bloodstained wings;
A more beautiful day now smiles over the North,

⁷⁷ The Oxford Dictionary defines a fairy tale on the one hand as „a story about magic or fairies, usually for children“. On the other hand, as „a story that sb tells that is not true, a lie“. www.loup.co.uk/elt/oald/index.html;

⁷⁸ See Hunt, 1992, p. 2ff, 90f; Tornbjør, 2002.

⁷⁹ ÖP, 8/11, 1864.

That brings us only serenity and felicity,
And high up on the fjeld, with the torch in the hand,
Stands the Hope, the heavenly maid,
And shows us the looming land of future,
Illuminated by the star of the North Pole.⁸⁰

These verses describe the great joy that the two Scandinavian countries felt at the Union Day and at being able to celebrate a fifty year old relationship. Old memories of conflict and pain should be forgotten. Instead, Sweden and Norway should concentrate on the coming construction of an all-Nordic union. From a literary point of view, Scandinavia was referred to as a symbol of the „nation“. Scandinavia became an already existing nation. The general trend of the nineteenth century romantic language was to personify abstract concepts, for example, the *time that has fled on bloodstained wings*, is transparent.⁸¹ Yet another image of a woman is presented when *Hope* is described as a maiden of heaven who guides the people to the future with her burning torch.

The oak was often used as a metaphor in order to enhance the solid and strong character of the union between Sweden and Norway. The following example is taken from *Nyare HelsingborgsPosten*.

Two oaks with weather-beaten stems
Rise boldly under the Nordic pole;
The same land have bred them and nurse them,
[...]
The roots go deep in the granite soil,
Iron lives in their tied muscles,
The crown, - and for centuries is it bound up,-
Vault by itself like a temple sanctuary.⁸²

⁸⁰ GHT, 5/11, 1864. This festive song was written by teacher J. Björklund and it was sung by the choir at the ball that was held in the festivity hall called *Börsen* in Göteborg.

Hvad ljus öfver landen! Hvad jublande fröjd,
Som stiger ur Skandiens hjerta!
I lofsångens toner till himlarnes höjd
Förvandlad är minnenas smärta.
Från Göternas bygder till Throndernas strand
Två folk sina röster nu blandar
I bön till den Gud, hvars allsvåldiga hand
Dem enat med kärlekens anda.

De tider som varit, de äro ej mer –
De flyktat på blodstänkta vingar;
En skönare dag öfver Norden nu ler,
Som frid blott och sällhet oss bringar;
Och högt uppå fjället, med facklan i hand,
Står Hoppet, den himmelska tärna,
Och visar oss framtidens hägrande land,
Bestråladt af Nordpolens stjerna.

⁸¹ Hallberg, 1982, p. 266, 268; see Tornbjør, 2002, pp. 74-77.; Mosse, 1985, pp. 90-95.

⁸² NHP, 5/11, 1864. The verse was written by Patrick Stürzen-Becker (Orvar Odd)
Ekar två med väderbitna stammar

These verses say that the two nations are two old oaks that have been growing in the same soil for many years. The tree crown, which symbolized the Swedish monarchy, was protecting, or giving foliage, over the two nations. The metaphors of nature give life to, and describe, the union with the aim to give stability to the union. An oak is a tree that stands steady in all kinds of weather for many hundred years.⁸³

A second example is taken from a poem written by Orvar Odd (Stürzenbecker) for the Union party in 1864.

How they were seen there raising towards the sky
For a long time *separately*, those two oaks,
- pairs, but still separated, - from each of their breach,
Still, they one day grew together.
How they grew taller and taller,
How they spread their branches,
The treetops were united
And two became *one* foliage in the end.⁸⁴

The two countries were initially distant from each other, like two separate oaks, but as time went by they grew together, in the end becoming definitely united.⁸⁵ This sort of language can be said to have been the general on the Union parties. One accentuated the strong and friendly relationship in order to stress stability in a situation being characterized by inner conflicts.

In the last verse of the poem, a bright future was projected on the oaks.

The vision, that before our eye gloriously rises,
That today rejuvenated smiles at us,
Become that reality, our future consecrates

djerft sig resa under Nordens pol;
samma mark dem fostrat och dem ammar.

[...]

rötterna gå djupt i gråstensgrunden,
jern i deras knutna muskler bor,
kronan, - och för sekler är den bunden -
vidt sig hvälfer som ett tempelchor.

⁸³ <http://www1.oup.co.uk/elt/oald/bin/oald2.pl>

⁸⁴ Ö-P, 5/11, 1864. Hur de sågos der mot skyn sig lyfta
länge *hvar för sig*, de ekar två,
- par, men skiljda dock, - ur hvar sin klyfta,
våxte de en dag ihop ändå.
Hur de högre allt och högre sköto,
Hur de sina grenar bredde ut,
Kronorna sig till hvarannan slöto
Och af två ett löfhvalf blef till slut.

⁸⁵ Hallberg, 1982, p. 266ff.

To a destiny, increasingly brighter!
Stand there, oaks, proudly in the daylight of heaven,
Stand there beneath the splendour of the flame of the northern lights,
Image of a faith, that does not deceive,
Of what best is put into an embrace.⁸⁶

The increasing sense of mutual understanding within the union would result in a „daylight of heaven“ which meant that the two neighbouring countries should be reborn at some distant point in the future.⁸⁷

In the following quote, a nature metaphor described the difficulties for liberty to root throughout Europe. The context of the quote was the war between Germany and Denmark in those years. *Fäderneslandet* considered the war to have been directed towards the people's freedom in Denmark and, since Germany was led by the nose by Russia, the latter one was the real enemy. The task of Russia was said to be “to trample upon freedom, wherever its sprouts shoot up from the ground, to again forge the liberated peoples into the bonds of despotism and ignorance.”⁸⁸ If Russia and Germany were to succeed in their efforts to make Denmark into a vassal state, then Sweden would be next on the list.

The body

The body metaphor was also a recurrent rhetorical tool in order to underline the unity between the two peoples. The following speech by Captain Toll was made at the reform dinner in Helsingborg in 1864.

⁸⁶ ÖP, 5/11, 1864. Syn, som för vart öga herrlig stiger,
som idag förnygrad mot oss ler,
blif den verklighet, vår framtid viger
till ett öde, ljusare alltmer!
Stån der, ekar, stolt i himlens dager,
Stån der under norrskensflammans prakt,
Bild utaf en tro, som ej bedrager,
Af hvad bäst är i ett famntag lagdt!

⁸⁷ Regarding concepts of rebirth and light versus darkness see Petau, 1990, pp. 429ff; Arvidsson, 2000.

⁸⁸ Fäd., 5/11, 1864.

Slowly but surely the two people are moving towards the common goal, pointed out with a prophetic vision by Carl Johan, /.../, soon shall the Scandinavian peninsula be inhabited by one people, with one tongue, one heart.⁸⁹

Hence, the vision of a Scandinavian union was still present in 1864, since Captain Toll speaks not just of the body of the nation, but of a Scandinavian body that will have one heart and one tongue hinting at the incorporation of Denmark and Finland. Probably, he deliberately used a vague expression in order to make all options open regarding union.⁹⁰

Another body metaphor was used when *Öresundsposten* discussed that Denmark should not be forgotten when celebrating the Union Day. The Danish people had endured two wars lately in order to protect its freedom. Denmark had suffered for a general Scandinavian cause. The paper argued in favour of supporting Denmark as "(s)he in her lap carries the highest and oldest culture of the north and thus is determined to occupy a prominent position in a future united Scandinavia."⁹¹

The Estates: a need for change

Öresundsposten claimed that the old hatred between Sweden and Norway had "worn out" and that the countries had learned to understand each other. The paper continued in saying that a coming parliamentary reform in Sweden would bring the strongest of bonds "(a)s soon as the four Estates of Sweden have been abolished and Swedes have become one people instead of four, the cold fog between Sweden and Norway will completely disappear." However, if the reform were postponed then, according to *Öresundsposten*, neither the most fervent prayers, nor the most eloquent toasts at banquets would be enough to light the fire of freedom in people's hearts. "All both private and national festivities would have lack of use and blessing and thus be nothing else than an expensive and superficial finery, without any significance."⁹²

The celebrations and festivities had a certain function in the political context, according to *Öresundsposten*, but cultural events could not change political reality by themselves because they depended upon certain structural factors. Parliamentary reform was the essential issue of the day. In the quote above many of the most common metaphors were used when talking about the necessity to reform the Swedish parliament. The discord between

⁸⁹ ÖP, 8/11, 1864.

⁹⁰ Hunt, 1992, pp. 92ff; Landes, 2001, pp. 90-100.

⁹¹ ÖP, 1/11, 1864. *Öresundsposten* took a more general standpoint in favour of a Scandinavian union including Denmark.

Sweden and Norway was described as *a cold fog*, prayers, political meetings and festivities should *light the fire of freedom* among the people.

Fäderneslandet expressed, on 5th November, the conviction that "we probably already next year will notice how Russian intrigues, Russian gold and perhaps also Russian threats will be spread in order to keep Sweden, for so long the chosen prey, in the straitjacket of the four Estates, that for centuries have curbed our political development, from which our state of humiliation Russia has been benefiting enormously."⁹² There was a general suspicion that the "inner Russia" in Sweden would in some sense manage to hinder the sanctioning of parliamentary reform. The inner Russia in Sweden meant those conservative groups which were in favour of a nationalist strong Sweden with friendly ties to Russia. Were the conservative groups within the Nobile Estate to give an ear to the Russian attempt to influence Swedish national politics, then it might be difficult to gain reform.

Fäderneslandet saw a clear connection between Russia, the Prussian-Danish war and the Swedish drive for a democratic reform that would abolish the four Estates in favour of a two-chamber parliament. Sweden was an interesting prey for Prussia and Russia as it would be the last obstacle in their struggle to control the Scandinavian peninsula. These thoughts were the main propaganda tools for the political groups, to which *Fäderneslandet* belonged, that were urging the need of a politically and military united Scandinavia.

⁹² ÖP, 1/11, 1864.

⁹³ Fäd., 5/11, 1864.



Figure 4. This caricature shows an example of a noble representative who protests against the reform proposal as he fears it will irritate Russia. Above I talked about how Fäderneslandet believed that the "inner Russia" would try to hinder parliamentary reform. In fact the heading of this drawing says: "The inner Russia who fears the outer Russia". Even though this picture was published in 1865, we have seen above how the "inner Russia" and its alignment with the "outer Russia" were discussed already in 1864. (Fäd., 6/12, 1865)

Concluding the chapter

Festive celebrations

Union Day, 4th November 1864, was celebrated all over the country, in the towns as well as in the countryside. The official celebrations started early in the morning with bell-ringing, cannonades, street processions to church, where then a morning service was held. Other public, and more closed, celebrations were dinners. On the other hand, there were also the more open, public, celebrations in which the lower classes in society could participate. The general trends that can be traced in the Union Day celebrations were that the sharpshooter corps played an important part in the processions and in performing patriotic music and songs. Furthermore, King Charles John was honoured and at the center of all the celebrations. The greater part of the celebrations had an official character, being state sanctioned.

Newspaper opinions

All the newspapers were very positive to the celebrations of the Union Day, though they stressed different political opinions. *Fäderneslandet* and *Aftonbladet* criticized that Denmark seemed to have been completely forgotten during the Union Day celebrations. They declared that a future union without Denmark would be unacceptable. *Fäderneslandet* was not very pleased with the celebrations confirming dynastic Scandinavianism. *Öresundsposten* stressed the need for a parliamentary reform in Sweden. On the other hand, the more conservative newspaper *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* interpreted the union as a way to “preserve the peace”, and the paper claimed that Scandinavism forged the original idea of the union between Sweden and Norway. Therefore, the paper was more in favour of a dynastic union where the Swedish monarchy would be the main governor.

This chapter has also shown how there were different metaphorical alternatives for description of the existing Swedish-Norwegian union. The union was compared to a fifty year long marriage, as two oaks that slowly had grown together, or defined as a body. The different metaphors aimed at personifying the union as such or a projected future of an enlargement to

an all-Nordic union. There was a distinction between the metaphors of marriage and brotherhood, since the first was used for giving Sweden an overweight within the union, and for ascribing the union a patriarchal character. The metaphor of brotherhood indicated, on the other hand, equality and the prospect of democratization in Sweden.

VIII. The Engelbrekt Festival

Introduction

In December of 1865 the four Estates decided unanimously to abolish themselves in favour of a liberal parliament with two chambers. During that entire year several reform meetings were organized in order to discuss and campaign for the reform proposal. When the Bill had been accepted by the Nobility, on the 7th, and the Clergy, on the 8th December, great festivities erupted all over the country.

The year before, all dreams of realizing the project of a Scandinavian political union had failed after the refusal of the Swedish government to enter a military alliance with Denmark. Therefore, in 1865 all the efforts of the government, as well as public opinion, were concentrated upon the reform proposal. The Nobility and the Clergy should to be convinced to give up their privileges in favour of parliamentary reform. Reform meetings were held all over the country and lists were sent to Stockholm in which people had signed up for a reform in order to put pressure on the Estates.

The liberal movement continued its rhetoric in favour of reform even more strongly after the failure of the unionist cause. Foreign political events and questions in addition still permeated pro-reform rhetoric. Liberal language continued also to concentrate on the concepts of patriotism and manliness as characteristics needed for every true citizen. Also the sharpshooter movement would turn out to be essential for the reform movement.

The Engelbrekt Festival

The old North sighed heavily,
Captured in bonds, drowned in blood.
Does not freedom exist more on earth?
Are there no men, no arms, no courage?

But alongside the tarn Siljan
Wandered then a hero, a man,
Men from Dalecarlia stand up, follow me in struggle!
The goal is freedom! he spoke.¹

In the poem above, the concept of the North was personified in order to express the Swedish state of hopelessness in the fifteenth century. The metaphors of bonds and blood were used for showing that the country had not been free but forced into a Nordic union. The poet associated arms and battlefield courage with men for underlining what was needed in that moment. Male virtues and attributes being shaped by the bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century were projected on the past. Courage on the battlefield had, certainly, been associated with men for many centuries but it became ideologized in the nineteenth century. Not only in the case of Engelbrekt but in Europe in general.² One heroic man, certainly possessing all the required male virtues, called for the people to join him in a struggle against royal oppressors. In addition, the poet hinted at the fact that the people were a union of men, a definition that was to resonate also in the debate on parliamentary reform.³ In sociological terms, the hero is constructed not so much on the things that he has done but on the "story that others conserve and repeat about his accomplishments. A hero is not conceivable without a story: in fact, without a collective memory."⁴

¹ NA, 1/11, 1865. Suckade tungt den åldriga Norden
Sluten i bojor, dränkt uti blod.
"Fins då ej frihet mer uppå jorden?
Fins det ej män, ej wapen, ej mod?"

Men invid Siljans fjellstängda bölja
Vandrade då en hjelte, en man.
"Dalamän upp, till kamp att mig följa!
Målet är frihet!" talade han.

The man who gathered his men, the people, in Dalecarlia could also make you think of a later king and great personality in the Swedish history, Gustavus Wasa.

² Mosse, 1996, p. 15.

³ See further Tornbjör, 2002, pp. 33f.; Porciani, 1997, pp. 89f.; Mosse, 1985, pp. 97-99.; Landes, 2001, pp. 91, 99-101.

⁴ „nel racconto che gli altri serbano e si ripetono delle sue imprese. Un eroe non è pensabile senza un racconto: in realtà, senza una memoria collettiva.“ See Jedlowski, P., „Il Testimone e l'eroe“, in *Il senso del passato*, ed. Paolo Jedlowski e Marita Rampazi, FrancoAngeli, 1991, p. 17.

In October 1865, an Engelbrekt festival in Örebro was one of the more important festivities in the symbolic pro-reform argumentation, the mythic narrative, in favour of reform. Engelbrekt had been a Swedish iron producer who rebelled against Eric of Pomerania, king of the Nordic union, in the fifteenth century. Engelbrekt opposed the oppressive power of a Danish monarch in the Kalmar union. On this historical fact, Engelbrekt evolved into a powerful symbol of national liberty and democracy for nineteenth century Swedish liberals.

Fund raising in order to erect a statue of Engelbrekt, the great national hero, had started already in 1860, but only in 1865 was actually a statue erected. The promoters of the request in 1860 had expressed a desire that the Swedish people should pay attention to the call since Engelbrekt signified Swedish "independence and its later greatness was founded and prepared by Engelbrekt through his deeds; and especially the Swedish Peasants, whose beloved chieftain he once was, who he, honest and manly, protected against violence, whose freedom he strengthened for a long time and, finally, sealed with his blood."⁵ That it took five years to realize the project can, on the one hand, be explained by the fact that it took some years to raise money and design the statue. The explanation might, on the other hand, also be that the fund raisers wanted to find the appropriate moment to unveil a statue. No sources do, however, support this hypothesis.

Fund raisers constructed a story in which Engelbrekt had appeared at the right moment in Swedish history: "The flame of freedom, that he lit, has afterwards never completely been blown out". In saving the country from foreign domination, Engelbrekt became "the morning star of Swedish freedom in the new era that began. How would the condition of the Swedish people have been now if Engelbrekt, in the moment of danger, had not defended freedom?"⁶ The metaphor of a flame indicated a sudden eruption causing historical change which was further elaborated upon in the metaphor of Engelbrekt as a morning star. A new era began which broke with past oppressions and, instead, brought freedom and prosperity to the nation. This story was clearly a parallell to the revolutionary tradition which focused exactly on a break with the past. Therefore, this tradition often used the metaphors of aurora, dawn, light, the breaking up from bonds, among others, for talking of the coming of a new society.

⁵ GHT, 25/2, 1860. „hvars sjelfständighet och deraf följande storhet Engelbrekt genom sitt uppträdande grundade och förberedde; och särskildt till Sveriges Allmoge, hvars älskade höfding han en gång var, hvars sak han mot våldet ärligt och manligt försvarade, hvars frihet han för långa tider befästade och slutligen med sitt blod beseglade.“ The general call of this subscription list and the Engelbrekt festival has also been analyzed in by Magnus Rodell who, however, focuses more on the concept of monument. Thus Rodell does not so much investigate the significance that the festival had for the reform movement and the sharpshooters in their construction of a national public opinion in favour of reform. See Rodell, 2003, p. 91f.

⁶ GHT, 25/2, 1860. „Den frihetslåga, som han upptände, har sedermera aldrig fullkomligt utslocknat.“; „Derigenom blef han Svenska frihetens morgonstjärna i den nya tid som ingick. Hurudant skulle Svenska folkets tillstånd nu hafva varit om icke Engelbrekt just i denna farans stund uppträdte till frihetens värn?“

The following verse is part of a poem written in connection with the Engelbrekt festival in Örebro in 1865.

O King, o People, o Fatherland!
From fjeld to fjeld, from shore to shore
We sing to honor the hero.
From day, that was, into day, that is,
Svea have not given birth to a son more dear,
its heart more near.⁷

Engelbrekt was described as the son of the Swedish nation. The nation was a family. In that family, Svea was the female image of the nation and one of her sons, Engelbrekt, had fought in order to protect his family, the nation, from foreign perils. Svea was often used to personify the Swedish nation as a mother.⁸ However, the first lines of the poem alluded to a patriarchal view of the nation. The king was the head of the state, the people followed and obeyed him and together they took care of, and protected, their fatherland. Supporters of reform often tried to put their arguments in a republican context, but they were still part of the ancient Swedish tradition of looking upon the nation as a monarchy where king and people worked together for the well-being of the fatherland.

Engelbrekt had saved the nation from the destiny of Norway, namely falling into a “century long lack of freedom and political sleep”. Helping, he had had an army of peasants, and jointly they had defeated professional armies in order to save the country from dominion by foreign bailiffs.⁹ The story was a parallell to that of the 1860s sharpshooters. The sharpshooters not only emphasized popular participation in politics, but they also established themselves as an alternative to the, at the time, weak professional army in Sweden. The model for the future was Garibaldi’s people’s army, the redshirts in the south of Italy.

Lutheran-Evangelical Protestantism had been closely related to the monarchy and state power in Sweden ever since the sixteenth century. Liberal agitators in nineteenth century Sweden, therefore, set Engelbrekt in a protestant context, although his day preceeded Lutheran reformation. Liberal values on culture and tradition were projected onto especially the great power era in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when reformation had gained its proper impact on the population. Lutheran-evangelical Protestantism grew out to be a part of Swedish

⁷ Fäd., 18/10, 1865. O Kung, o Folk, o Fosterland!

Från fjell till fjell, från strand till strand

Vi sjunga hjeltens ära

Från dag, som blef, till dag som är

Ej Swea födt en son, mer kär,

Dess hjerta mera nära.

⁸ Tombjer, 2001, p. 75.

⁹ GHT, 25/2, 1860.

identity and, concomitantly, a source for describing ancient Swedish liberty also for periods preceding actual reformation.¹⁰

Public celebrations in honour of the statue in Örebro

Procession and morning service

Open celebrations

Celebrations of Engelbrekt in Örebro started at 7 o'clock in the morning with the sounding of reveille, after which the king and prince August arrived. People from the neighbouring towns had come to attend the festivity. Inhabitants of Örebro were following the celebrations from the streets as well as from the windows. Many sharpshooter corps in the county met up to participate in the festivity of Engelbrekt.¹¹ In the afternoon, people assembled in front of the town hall in order to march in procession towards the church where a service was held for the special occasion. At the head of the procession marched the committee of Örebro sharpshooter association and other members of that association, followed by school children from Carolinska secondary school, the principal and teachers, other inhabitants from Örebro who wanted to participate, representatives from the town finance department, the town council and its employees, the mayor, the town administration, civil and military officials, the body of officers of Nerike regiment, the circuit judge with officials, the committee for the Engelbrekt statue and, at the end, specially invited guests.¹²

A comparison to the Garibaldi festival in Helsingborg 1862 reveals some differences. Participants in Helsingborg belonged mainly to the local associations, such as the journeymen corps, the choral society, and the music corps. In Örebro, however, there was not only a clear military presence in the procession but also an official aura that was absent in Helsingborg. The participation of town officials and employees made the Engelbrekt festival in Örebro

¹⁰ Therefore, when one in festivities, for example, was singing *Our God is us a mighty castle*, one referred back to the days of Gustavus II Adolphus. See Gelfgren, 2003, pp. 375f.

¹¹ NA, 18/ 10, 1865.

more similar to the processions on the 1864 union day in Helsingborg, Göteborg and Stockholm. The presence of King Charles XV and prince August turned the Engelbrekt festivity into a rather government organized ritual. The king can, in addition, be considered to have made an unofficial comment in favour of parliamentary reform by attending the Engelbrekt festival, listening to vicar Gumealius' allusions to contemporary politics.

When danger is as most threatening, help is very close. Then unconscious powers show themselves; big men turn up, just as noble, Godly born thoughts, from the heart of the people, when this people sees its freedom, the source to life and development, being threatened. And if such a man, self sacrificing as Curtius, the roman, in such a time shouts: 'to arms', then the people follows him, then it will reach victory under his command and an Engelbrekt may then be called the father of Swedish freedom.¹³

These were the first words of vicar Gumealius in his sermon during the service.¹⁴ He continued to dwell on the significance of the festivity. Engelbrekt had, with "power" and "resolution", saved his fatherland from ruin. He had sacrificed himself for the good of the nation, thus becoming a national hero who was worshiped by the people.¹⁵ Gumealius sent out a message for virtuous citizens on the issue for parliamentary reform.¹⁶ He personified the people into one person, with one heart.¹⁷ The concepts used in the speech, such as people and freedom, were rather vague and undefined, which made them appropriate for different classes in society.

Further on in the speech, vicar Gumealius said that the Kalmar union had threatened Swedish national independence. Together with peasants, Engelbrekt had taken the destiny of Sweden in his own hands by "victoriously" marching against the king of the Kalmar union.¹⁸ Gumealius presented Engelbrekt as a Swedish Garibaldi, who, as Engelbrekt, marched through his country in order to liberate the people from despotic oppression. Therefore, he was considered the great liberator of Italy. However, Garibaldi wanted to achieve a national unification of Italy. In 1865, Engelbrekt, in contrast, provided a model for a movement that had given up Scandinavian unification for a narrower concept of the nation, namely the inherited Swedish territory. The Engelbrekt festivity took place just a month before the final sanction of the reform Bill. Most likely, Gumealius aimed at commenting on this issue in his

¹² Fäd., 18/10, 1865.

¹³ NA, 18/10, 1865. „Då faran är som störst, är hjälpen närmast. Då visa sig omedvetna krafter; stora män framspringa, likasom ädla, gudafödda tankar, ur folkets hjerta, då detta folk ser sin frihet, källan till lif och utveckling, hotad. Och om en sådan man, sjelfuppoftande som romaren Curtius, i sådan tid höjer ropet: 'till wapen', då följer honom vårt folk, då segrar det under hans ledning, och en Engelbrekt må wäl då kallas den swenska frihetens fader.“

¹⁴ See biographic section.

¹⁵ Fäd., 18/10, 1865.

¹⁶ See further Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 182f.

¹⁷ Hallberg, 1982, pp. 278f.

Engelbrekt speech. In the 1860s, the concept of freedom indicated democratic freedom by means of a parliamentary reform. That kind of symbolic presentation of Engelbrekt was used in the liberal press in 1865 to push for reform. If reform were not to come true, the sharpshooter movement would have to revolt against undemocratic oppression. Furthermore, it would force through an abolition of the *Riksdag* of the four Estates. Such was the rhetoric of passionate and aggressive radicals at the time.¹⁹

Unveiling the statue

After the service, the procession marched towards the central square in Örebro, where the Engelbrekt statue was to be unveiled by King Charles XV. The square was crowded with people. From the windows, many curious eyes were looking down at the festivity and *Nerikes Allehanda* said that many women, in festival attire, could be seen there.²⁰ The presence of the women as distant spectators had a symbolic value, not only as a protest against political exclusion, but also from the dramatic point of view.²¹ The Student Scandinavian Movement had consciously instrumentalized female presence in their processions. Radical liberals in the 1860s continued this tradition,

In the square itself, surrounding the unveiled statue, stood different military units such as the sharpshooter corps of Carolinska elementary school, a company from the regiment of Nerike, a company from the Stockholm sharpshooter corps, and the entire sharpshooter association of Örebro. Next to the Engelbrekt statue, the local sharpshooter music corps played *Björneborgarnes marsch*²² while the king and the other guests took their seats. Beginning the festival by playing a Finnish march from the period when Finland still belonged to Sweden indicated the desire to re-integrate Finland in a future democratic Swedish nation. Thereafter, the king exclaimed “Viva the memory of Engelbrekt” and the statue of Engelbrekt was unveiled.²³ *Fäderneslandet* said in its report that, there, in “the

¹⁸ Fäd., 18/10, 1865.

¹⁹ See Fäd., November 1865.

²⁰ NA, 18/10, 1865.

²¹ Tornbjør, 2002, pp. 79, 84; Nilsson, 2000, pp. 133, 141-143.

²² Björneborgarnas marsch was the march of honour of the Finnish military defence and it was named after the military regiment of Björneborg. There are said to be no references that confirms that the march should have been in use already during the war of 1808-09. [www.ne.se/jsp/search/search.jsp.t_word=Björneborgarnas marsch](http://www.ne.se/jsp/search/search.jsp.t_word=Björneborgarnas+marsch)

²³ NA, 18/10, 1865.

richest sunlight“, stood the “image of Sweden’s most noble popular hero, the representative of heroism and love of freedom for the Swedish people. “²⁴

When the music corps started playing another march (*Orsamarschen*)²⁵, the different military units marched first past the king and the statue of Engelbrekt, and then they continued further down the street towards their drill-ground.²⁶ Royal presence at the ceremony for the sharpshooter hero Engelbrekt cast interesting questions on the symbolic value of the festivity.²⁷ Sharpshooter homage to Charles XV most likely functioned as a sign for royal support for the decisive political issues of the period: parliamentary reform and reorganization of armed defence towards a national army, voluntary or through conscription.

The ritual on the unveiling of the Engelbrekt statue confirmed traditional cultural patterns of the relationship between king, people and fatherland. The king had a central position during the unveiling ritual, and military units marched past the King and the Prince, thus honouring their presence. Even though Engelbrekt was celebrated as the great hero, the festivity confirmed a traditional mentality of the people who walked with the king for the welfare and development of the fatherland (*fosterlandet*).²⁸ In addition, it became rather obvious from the sermon that patriotism was a sacred virtue embedded in support for Lutheran-Evangelical faith.

²⁴ Fäd., 18/10, 1865. To mention that the statue was unveiled in the richest sunlight could have been another way of expressing that Engelbrekt brought light i.e. freedom to the people. An interesting note on the festival is that the sculptor did not really know what Engelbrekt looked like. The statue in Örebro rather carries the face of Garibaldi.

²⁵ *Orsamarschen* has its origin in the region of Dalarna. Engelbrekt had also his origin in there and thus the music corps played *Orsamarschen* at the festival in his honour. In another context, Dalarna has been considered as an ideal landscape or a „symbolic central landscape“ in Sweden in the second half of the nineteenth century. James Kaye has written a dissertation regarding the concept of the home (*heimat*) in the regions of Dalarna in Sweden and Salzkammergut in Austria. He claims that a series of regional personalities, such as Engelbrekt, King Gustavus Wasa; the painters Carl Larsson and Anders Zorn; the ethnologist Artur Hazelius and the poet Erik Axel Karlfeldt, helped to construct a relationship between „Dalarna and Swedishness that to a large extent remains a valid perception today, that of the symbolic central landscape[...].“ See Kaye, James, *No One Such Place, „Home“ in Austrian and Swedish „Landscapes“*, EUI, 2003, pp. 73-75.

²⁶ NA, 18/10, 1865. *Nerikes Allehanda* said that especially the sharpshooter corps from Stockholm, “as always”, distinguished itself for its military deportment.

²⁷ Another possibility is of course to consider the rhetoric to have been so open, or vague, that any interpretation was possible.

²⁸ The *fosterland* is to be understood as the place where one was born and brought up and therefore it had a special mental, as well as, organic importance to the people. The people would defend its *fosterland* to every cost because it was the place which had brought it life and nurtured it since ancient time. See Kurunmäki, 2000, p. 189.

Closed celebrations

Dinner

In the evening of the Engelbrekt festival in Örebro, a festive dinner was organized at the town hotel.²⁹ It was a closed celebration as only especially invited, or paying, guests had access to the dinner party. The toast to the memory of Engelbrekt was made by the king, Charles XV, himself and he also expressed the following thoughts:

The glorious and strong traits that the history conserves about our great men shall always live in the heart of an independent and people. We celebrate today, the memory of a warrior for freedom, a noble man, who liberated the dear fatherland from foreign oppression. His image, represented by the artist, we have today seen before our eyes. What the future might bring, we do not know, but I am sure that, if hard times will come, the Swedish people will show, that the spirit of Engelbrekt is still alive. Therefore, I raise my glass and drink to the memory of Engelbrekt.³⁰

The speech emphasized that the spirit of the noble warrior Engelbrekt still was present in the hearts of the Swedish people. In hard times, the Swedish people would not hesitate to re-animate this spirit and fight for national freedom. *Nerikes Allehanda* reported that the speech was interrupted by "bravo(s)" and applause.³¹ In a following speech, the aristocrat Montgomery-Cederhjelm said that the people of Örebro should be grateful to vicar Gumaelius

²⁹ The dinner was attended by the king and prince August and by, about, fifty honorary guests and some hundred paying guests. NA, 18/10, 1865.

³⁰ NA, 18/10, 1865. „De ärofulla och kraftiga drag, historien bewarar om våra store män, skola alltid lefwa i ett sjelfständigt och friskt folks hjerta. Wi fira idag minnet af en frihetens kämpe, en ädel man, som befriade den kära fosterjordstorfwan från utländskt förtryck. Hans bild, af konstnärn återgifwen, ha wi idag sett för våra ögon. De tider, som kunna komma, känna wi icke; men jag är säker derom, att om swåra tider stunda, skall swenska folket wisa, att Engelbrekts ande lefwer än. Derför fattar jag mitt glas och dricker för Engelbrekts minne.“

³¹ James Vernon has described that the responses from the people during speeches held by local politicians in nineteenth century Britain was an important part of the political rhetoric. The crowd was, therefore, often shouting "bravo" when the politician said something with which they agreed and was shouting bad words when

because of his original idea to raise a statue in memory of Engelbrekt. Vicar Gumaelius had been of the opinion that "the Swedish people would like very much to honour one of its greatest historical memories: from the thought he soon passed to action: he worked with the pen, with the word: the nation supported the enterprise: and today we have seen the dream of the poet, standing before our eyes, in bronze."³²

Vicar Gumaelius was one of the artists, or creators, in the national myth-making process in the nineteenth century. By initiating a subscription list in favour of raising a statue to Engelbrekt, Gumaelius wanted to re-animate a Swedish historical past and put it into a contemporary political context. He tried to recall a Swedish spirit of rebellion and sense of fighting for independence and freedom. Gumaelius held a thanksgiving speech as a response to the compliments given to him. Gumaelius did not accept the compliments as entirely valid but, instead, he pointed to the support from many people, without whom nothing would have been achieved. "I managed to touch a string, which reverberated to all our people. I took the word from all our hearts, and therefore it had a power, that the speech from a single man would not have had."³³ Vicar Gumaelius was, just as Engelbrekt, incorporating the role of the hero and as such speaking in the voice of the nation.

Gumaelius pointed to the people and their opinions as foundations for political changes. He encouraged, thereby, citizens in general to take a political standpoint because, as a consequence, they would gain access to the national political sphere. This was a standard argument in the pro-reform propaganda of the period which, certainly, did not mean that the liberals intended to give up censorial measures for the vote. They did, however, propagate a reorganization of politics so that patriotic groups of citizens should no longer be excluded because of an outlived representation. The heroic courage being called for in the Engelbrekt festival rhetoric was an incentive to act for a modernized future. Certainly, as Swedish historian Rodell claims, Gumaelius was not overly concrete in his speech in preparation of the unveiling of the statue but, still, the point was that the political messages were not always expressed explicitly. The essence of the nationalist myth making was to tell a story in which the characters were presented in a context of certain symbols and metaphors which had been chosen because they specifically described or personified certain political concepts. This does not mean that the rhetoric was less political, but rather that the symbolic language was open

they did not like the speech. See Vernon, 1993, pp. 50-110 Furthermore, other toasts during the dinner were made, for example, to Norway, to Dalecarlia, to the statue of Engelbrekt, and to Örebro. NA, 18/10, 1865.

³² NA, 18/10, 1865. „[...]att Svenska folket gerna skulle vilja hedra ett af dess största historiska minnen; från tanken öfvergick han snart till handling; han arbetade med pennan, med ordet; nationen understödde företaget; och idag hafva vi sett skaldens dröm framstå för våra ögon förverkligad, i brons“.

³³ NA, 18/10, 1865. „Jag lyckades vidröra en sträng, som genljöd genom hela vårt folk. Jag tog ordet ur allas hjertan, och därför hade det en kraft, som en enskild mans tal ej skulle egt.“

for broad interpretations. Thus the spectators and participants could read the symbolic messages from their specific political points of view. Radical liberals were able to act convincingly in the reform arena without being entangled in discussions on social cleavages.

A Sharpshooter party

On the evening of the 14th October, a party was organized in the theater of Örebro for the sharpshooters who had participated in the ceremony earlier that day. Tables had been put in every area of the theater: "six enormous tables put in three rows, [...] were borne down by the load of, God knows how many pounds of meat, how many glasses, plates and other necessities."³⁴ The first toast was proposed to the king and was followed by cheering, fanfares and the playing of the royal anthem.³⁵ Several speeches were given which honoured the idea of the sharpshooter movement. A free man, a sharpshooter, was a strong man who with decisiveness and seriousness prepared himself for coming perils. A sharpshooter acted nobly in preparing himself for sacrifice for the fatherland³⁶

George L. Mosse has discussed that the myth of the war experience had a specific male self-consciousness as the central theme. Traits such as "courage, strength, hardness, control over the emotions [...]" "were underlined in order to emphasize the importance of a male „moral posture“."³⁷ The sharpshooters were a part of a "militant nationalism" that blossomed in nineteenth century Europe. By means of cultural channels such as the press, national anthems and soldier songs, the aim was to spread a message that „those who fought for the national cause were exemplary of the national spirit; their national consciousness dominated their emotions to the point of joyous self-sacrifice“.³⁸ Mosse claims that modern masculinity was "a stereotype, presenting a standardized mental picture" and that it was determining male behaviour from the start of the nineteenth century and onwards, with the

³⁴ NA, 18/10, 1865. *Nerikes Allehanda* reported how there were 900 invited sharpshooters and that with all other guests around 1200 people had gathered in the theater in the evening. „[...]sex ofantliga bord i trenne rader, hwilka dignade under bordan af, Gud wet huru många pund kött,[...]jett oberäkneligt antal glas, tallrikar och andra förnödenheter.“

³⁵ Other toasts were made to Engelbrekt, the sharpshooter movement and the town Örebro. NA, 18/10, 1865.

³⁶ NA, 18/10, 1865.

³⁷ Mosse, 1990, p. 27. See also Landes, 2001, pp. 89f., who stresses that the word virtue „denotes manliness and is associated with valor, worth, strength, force, and energy, as well as, according to Rosseau, self-control and duty.“ Virtue had different meanings for men and women and female virtue was often defined by their „roles“ and tasks within the private sphere.

“transition to modernity”.³⁹ The masculine stereotype was connected to the human body and thus moral behaviour, as well as aesthetic beauty, was conceptualized. The new cultural pattern of the French Revolution gave considerable symbolic importance to the human body. This is shown by the fact that female figures and their bodies were used as symbols of the new democratic nation.⁴⁰

At the dinner for the sharpshooters, one speaker said that the “sharpshooter had thread a new laurel in the curls of Svea”. Again Svea was referred to as a goddess, or mother, of the fatherland. In the simile of the laurel on Svea’s curls, she resembled, however, more a Greek goddess than a mother figure. Athena was often used as a model for creating female figures that were to be used as symbols of the nation.⁴¹

The great attraction of the evening was the speech delivered by August Blanche, who started out in saying that the “same clear sun beam, which fell on the bronze image of the people’s hero, also fell on the bayonets of the sharpshooter movement, which were surrounding the statue”. Blanche developed a story within his speech in order to explain that the sharpshooter movement was important in contemporary society. He recalled that the state in the seventeenth century had abolished popular arming (*allmänna folkbeväpningen*) which had caused the defeat at Poltava. As a result, Sweden was destroyed by a “barbaric” people, a tragedy which should not be repeated, since the Swedish people had re-animated the spirit of Engelbrekt and thus re-awakened itself from a century long sleep.⁴²

Another locally well-known personality in Örebro, Mr Hamilton, also spoke about Engelbrekt as a precursor and model for the sharpshooter movement. The spirit of self-sacrifice, which had been characteristic for Engelbrekt, had also been a central concept for great Swedish heroes such as Gustavus Wasa and Gustavus II Adolphus. This spirit was also the leading idea of the sharpshooter movement. “Yes, it is this spirit which, still, in our days makes us sacrifice our strengths and our time, [...] but it also have the effect that, when a presumptuous neighbour threatens us, and when the war cry sounds from mountain to mountain, then shall we not be ruined. No, then shall the words of Bishop Thomas come true:

³⁸ Mosse, 1990, p. 22.

³⁹ Mosse, George L., *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 5.

⁴⁰ Mosse, 1996, p. 5; Mosse, 1985, pp. 23-25, 29-33.; Hunt, 1992; Landes, 2001, pp. 81-101.

⁴¹ Tornbjør, 2001, p. 74. Athena was the goddess of wisdom and she was often pictured in arms of some sort.

⁴² NA, 18/10, 1865.

You good Swede, stand steady.”⁴³ Hamilton stabilized yet another connection between the past and the contemporary society, thereby giving continuity to the sharpshooter movement.⁴⁴

Russian power was devastating for Sweden in material terms. The existence of a spirit of nobleness, bravery, and self-sacrifice was thus constantly called upon as a remedy for lack of material resources. The spirit would be the central trait in a defense of the fatherland against Russian attacks. The fear of Russia was always present and played a part also in the symbolic argumentation in favour of a Scandinavian union, as a union was seen as essential for thwarting Russian expansionism. Agitators were convinced that a Russian attack would come, it was only a matter of time, and one feared that public opinion and parliamentary freedom then would be oppressed.⁴⁵ The festivity on Engelbrekt was an occasion to propagate a desire for inner and outer defense against subordination of the nation to an oppressive ruler.

The unveiling of the statue of Engelbrekt was joyfully celebrated also in other towns all over the country. In Lund, the Burghers' Choir Society gathered in the square in front of the town hall to cheer to the memory of Engelbrekt. The choir sang “Oh, young man, if you have a heart”, and thereafter the participants went to the Knut hall to make toasts and give speeches to the memory of Engelbrekt.

In Västerås, the town was illuminated in the evening and the sharpshooter corps, together with school youth, was marching in procession towards the Wasa Park.⁴⁶ There they assembled, together with the spectators in general, with their banners around the statue of Gustavus Wasa and sung patriotic songs. Afterwards a party was organized in the local theater.⁴⁷

The ritual pattern was generally the same, thus starting out with a procession which was followed by a dinner or a party in the evening. Music was played as an entertainment but also so as to create patriotic atmosphere. Music and lyrics were chosen with respect to the event and thus had to suit the general aim of the festivities.

At the party in Västerås, a poem written especially for the occasion was read to the participants by a member of the sharpshooter corps. Here I quote some verses which particularly express the picture of Engelbrekt as a noble character.

⁴³ NA, 18/10, 1865. „Ja, det är denna ande, som ännu i våra dagar låter oss offra våra krafter och vår tid,[.....]men också gör att, när en öfvermodig granne hotar oss, och när krigsropet ljuder från berg till berg, då skola vi ej gå under. Nej, då skola sannas biskop Thomas ord: Du gode svensk, stå stadigt fast!”

⁴⁴ Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 183-189

⁴⁵ Rodell, 2003, p. 101f.

⁴⁶ A park named after the Swedish king Gustav Wasa.

⁴⁷ NA, 21/10, 1865.

We sat here on a desert shore
And we barely owned a fatherland;
How miserable was everything then!
Our king was no longer the father of the country.
A half-German he was, a barbarian;
And the Danish bailiff cut harvests
From our land, on which we sow.

[...]

Then sounds through the land of Swea
With the roaring of thunder, from shore to shore:
To arms, Swedish men!
The storm moves irresistably:
Castles, strongholds fell in its traces;
But from the ruin appeared
A noble people again!

Step forward among us, Engelbrekt!
Thou knight, in costume of the people,
Come, with your peasant's army!
It is a day in your honour today,
You victor of a hundred battles;
To read, to kiss your noble features
That is what your people demands!⁴⁸

The story in the poem starts out in a period of chaos when the nation was oppressed by a foreign king and his bailiffs. Then, suddenly, the "roaring of thunder" sounded and Engelbrekt's peasants marched through the country like a "storm". In the end, Engelbrekt was described to have been victorious in his battles and therefore he should be glorified and venerated by the Swedish people. Such a story suited contemporary needs. However, some

⁴⁸ NA, 21/10, 1865. Vi suto här på öde strand
Och egde knappt ett fosterland;
Hur armt war allt oss då!
Wår kung war icke landets far.
En halvtysk war han, en barbar;
Och danskee fogden skördar skar
Från mark, wi sådde på.

Då ljuder genom Swea land
Med åskans dån, från strand till strand:
,Till wapen, swenske män!'
Oemotståndlig stormen går
Slott, borgar ramla i dess spår;
Men ur förödelsen framgår
Ett frälsadt folk igen!
[...]
Träd fram ibland oss, Engelbrekt!
Du riddersman, i folkets drägt.
Kom, med din bondehär!
Det är din äras dag idag,
Du segrare i hundra slag;
Att läsa, kyssa dina drag
Ditt ädla folk begär!

poetic imagination was probably needed in order to make Engelbrekt into a suitable hero and symbol of the struggles for reform in the 1860s.⁴⁹

The collective term “we” was used for speaking of the situation during the days of the Kalmar union in the fifteenth century. The people were thus defined as a collective. This construction of a *one* was essential for the reform debate in order to stress that the people, by parliamentary reform, would become *one*, with equal rights. Also the sharpshooters united themselves across boundaries of class and privilege. The collective we signified a liberal society. On the other hand, the sharpshooter corps claimed a specific position within the nation, which position they themselves considered “extra-ordinary”. They projected themselves as the new, alternative, defenders of the fatherland which gave them a collective value within the national context.⁵⁰ In the second verse, the symbols of a storm and ruin were used for talking about the rebellion that defeated enemies who were fortified in castles and strongholds. And from the ruins arose “a noble people again!” This associate to words such as resurrection and rebirth which were appropriate also for a description on parliamentary reform and voluntary arming in the 1860s.

The political allusions were clear in the poem. A story about Engelbrekt was told, but at the same time it was a story on contemporary Swedish society. The sharpshooter movement was supposed to be understood as a people’s movement which carried on the ideas of Engelbrekt and his army of peasants. The story had the structure of a comedy, as it started in chaos but ended happily. The structure of a comedy parts from a period of “apparent peace” after which the conflict is revealed. Thereafter, the plot moves forward trying to resolve the conflict and to re-establish order and peace.⁵¹

The comic plot was thus appropriate in a story on the Engelbrekt rebellion, as well as on the struggle for parliamentary reform. This poem was a tiny part of the narrative construction which aimed to create an opinion in favour of reform and union. It also evoked nationalist sentiments in favour of war, in favour of making Sweden into a great power, once again. As contemporary circumstances made this latter goal rather utopian, the great power status moved to the idealistic spheres of society and wars were to be fought only when an enemy attacked the borders of Swedish territory.

In *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, another poem about Engelbrekt was published in connection with the festival in Örebro. It started with a general call to the Swedish people to remember its great past.

⁴⁹ See further Hobsbawm, 2001, pp. 1ff.

⁵⁰ Abrahamsson, 1990, pp. 382-390.

⁵¹ White, H., *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, 1973, pp. 165-169, 177.

Stand up, o Swede, wherever you are,
Great spirits are close to you,
And high memories shine!
Stand up and answer to a voice,
Which speaks Swedish inside your breast
With words from the past!
Today a message reaches you still
From Engelbrekt and from his men.
[...]

And your fatherland shall not
Become a treasure in the hands of the enemy
No laws shall be forced upon us
See, around the country, a good rifle
Now is the best decoration of the house
Yes, also in the smallest cottage
Time has not destroyed your deed:
Still your people are armed.⁵²

The Swedish man should listen to the memories of the past within him, in order to do the right thing in contemporary times. The passing of time did not change the basic values. Kurunmäki argues that, except for views on the past and the right moment for political change, patriots had also to present a “convincing picture of the future”.⁵³ The concept of the fatherland, and the duty to defend it from foreign, as well as domestic, enemies, was one of the basic tasks of the sharpshooter movement. This duty legitimized training in handling weapons outside of state control.

Poems and songs like the ones quoted in this chapter may seem accessories that were used to entertain the people and make the atmosphere more pleasant at parties, processions and meetings in general. These literary products were, however, there to express political opinions in an accessible way to a wider audience. National movements in the nineteenth century often used means such as the press, national anthems, soldier songs and other cultural artefacts in order to spread the messages of “a militant nationalism” to the soldiers and the people in general. Therefore, “poetry” and “song” were important tools for moral messages in the construction of a “national self-consciousness”.⁵⁴

Notwithstanding political messages, the Engelbrekt festivals still belonged to the world of imagination. They were “a projection of desire rather than an anticipation of reality.” One must make a clear distinction between historical time and the time aspects in a festival.

⁵² NYT, 1865.

⁵³ Kurunmäki, 2000, p. 195.

⁵⁴ Mosse, 1990, p. 21.

This means that the reanimation of the past in a festival, or similar ritual, is illusory and imagined. A festival dramatizes the present by staging scenes “of immortality and indestructibility” in order to express hope for the future. The essence of a festival is to “reenact the past” and, at the same time, “herald the future”.⁵⁵ Festivals connect the past with the present and the future. However, one needs to be careful when studying festivals and rituals and not put them in direct relation with revolution and social change.

In conclusion, the concept of time enabled liberals to endorse a prosperous future.⁵⁶ They made a “diagnosis which introduced the past into the future”, as Reinhard Koselleck says. Engelbrekt and his past were introduced into the 1860s for a prognosis on political change in a near future. The Engelbrekt festivals were events fitting Koselleck’s verdict that “the past only can be experienced insofar as it contains an element of that which is to come (and vice versa) [...]”.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Ozouf, M., „The Festival in the French Revolution“, in *Histories. French Constructions of the Past*, edited by Jacques Revel and Lynn Hunt, New York, 1995, pp. 408ff.

⁵⁶ See further Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 195-197.

⁵⁷ Koselleck, Reinhard, *Futures Past. On the Semantics of Historical Time*, 1979, pp. 15-19.

IX. Political Reform

Press opinions on the coming of parliamentary reform

Swedish newspapers published articles on parliamentary reform more or less every day during the last weeks before the 8th of December 1865, when the final reading of the governmental proposal was to take place in the Estate of the Nobility. Opinions on the reform differed widely between the newspapers. Below I highlight some of their discussions and give examples of the rhetoric used. Some of the articles contributed to the construction of a story, or narrative, more clearly than others. The articles I have chosen come mainly from *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts Tidning*, *Östgota Correspondenten*, *Aftonbladet*, and *Fäderneslandet*. I will divide the analysis thematically in order to explore to what extent metaphorical language was important for the construction of a narrative.

Nature

Stand strong, thou Swedish man, in time of need.
Stand proud, firm by your lawful right!
Like a firmly rooted oak in the granite soil
Which hardened against the sudden shift of wind brings firm!
Stand unaffected by the hum, how it roars.
Deaf the song of sirens, which magically enchants.
Stand true to your opinion all night through
Stand strong, but – calm, with a manly and safe decision! ¹

The quotation above was, once again, an example of the oak as a metaphor to communicate messages of firmness, endurance, stability and reliability. The peasant was to stand with both feet on the ground, thereby resembling the oak with its roots deeply buried in the ground, unaffected by the turmoil surrounding it. The peasant should be secure in himself and trust his own opinion. He should, in addition, be calm and act as a man. The male character was connected with strength and security, and therefore it was ideal to see use the nation in these terms. ²

¹ ÖP. 30/11. 1865; NHP. 21/11. 1865. Lik rotfast ek i grästensmängda grunden
Mot dygnets vindkast härdad bringa fast!
Stå oförtryckt af sorlet, hur det brusar.
Döf för sirensangen, som magiskt tjuvar.
stå wid din mening trofast natten ut.
stå stark, men – lugn, med manligt tryggt beslut!

² Mosse. 1996, p.1-15.; Mosse. 1990, pp. 25-29.

On the 16th November, *Aftonbladet* posed the question "Are we mature?" i.e. were the Swedes were mature enough for a parliamentary reform? The outcome of the "great national question" would be decisive for political future in Sweden. It might, certainly, be important to push through parliamentary reform during a period of peace in Europe, the paper argued, because the "thunderstorms" that gathered to end periods of peace and calm were soon to appear. A period of war or revolution might occur at any time and it would then, according to *Aftonbladet*, be more difficult to reform the country without risking mass unrest.³

Metaphors referring to sudden rough weather were used in order to enhance images of force and spontaneity in revolutionary uprisings. Natural disasters and sudden thunderstorms are metaphors well suited for a description of sudden social and political change. On 23rd November, *Aftonbladet* continued its rhetoric from the language of nature. There were unresolved questions in the rest of Europe which might cause conflicts in the near future. The paper pointed to the "burning" situation which still existed between Denmark and Prussia (the German Confederation) regarding Schleswig-Holstein. In other European countries there existed a "space" which was filled with an "explosive air of hatred" ("sprängluft av hat"), though nobody was yet ready to light up "the flame". Poland wanted its independence from Russia, Germany longed for unity, and Italy was anxious about gaining Rome and Venice. Political reform, therefore, had to be sanctioned very soon, so that there would be no risk of any revolutionary uprisings which might be the result of waiting until the European conflicts were to break out.⁴ The metaphors alluding to nature were used to underline the tensions that existed in the European countries. The political climate was described as being very hot and, like before a thunderstorm or a volcanic eruption, the air was ready to explode.

On the 2nd of December, *Fäderneslandet* used a metaphor referring to the sea when discussing the strength of the reform movement. The paper asked itself if the people were acting out of thoughtlessness, if the reform movement was a disturbing "noise" to be silenced with violence, and if the "surges" (svallvågor) of such a movement would disappear before the problem had been solved. The paper answered the questions in saying that it would be childish to imagine that to silence the reform movement would solve the political problem and make it vanish. If the reform proposal were rejected, the people would day by day increase the demands for reform. "Those" who would have to deal with the protests from the people, according to *Fäderneslandet*, would be the conservative opposition, which in such a case would have gained a victory on the reform issue.⁵

³ AB. 16/11. 1865.

⁴ AB. 23/11. 1865.

⁵ Fäd. 2/12. 1865.

Body and time aspects

Aftonbladet said that it wished that "the wounds" which were the result of political struggles on the reform program be as small as possible. The nation was referred to as a body with a wound caused by injuries in the struggle for reform. The personification of abstract concepts made it easier to communicate feelings about the state of mind of the nation.⁶ If reform was to be defeated, the political struggles and disputes would still continue, thus making the people tired and bitter. Therefore, when a reform finally succeeded in a more distant future, it would cause bitter resentment between the different social classes, the Estates and the coming two-chamber parliament.

Another important point of view was the time aspect in the reform debate and indeed it was often stressed that a reform was necessary for the progress and prosperity of the nation. The belief was that public opinion was incorporating and expressing a need for progress and development within society and, therefore, it was essential to be in line with the times and seize the right moment for reform. Thus, it was necessary to benefit from the period of political calmness in Europe and not wait for the turmoil which, very soon, could be a fact.⁷ In the pro-reform rhetoric, parliamentary reform became a "necessity" in time.⁸

Patriotism and male virtues

On 30th November in 1865, *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts Tidning* reported that the feelings of victory were already in the air and that the people were ready to cheer for the reform proposal and honour the Nobility for laying down their arms. A victory for reform would lead to honour for the Nobility and the Clergy, but a defeat, on the other hand, would bring humiliation to the entire nation. The sanction of reform would show the entire world what a nation could accomplish, a people that could show "self control, when the senses are unstable, and who have moral power enough to have an idea and make sacrifices for its realization, by putting aside all personal considerations and doubts".⁹ The above-mentioned traits were typically male virtues. The ideal virtues for a true patriot were exactly the same as those which were stressed as essential for a people. A population should become united by

⁶ Hallberg, 1982, p.278f.; Abrahamsson, 1990.

⁷ See Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 228f.; Holmberg, 1946.; Carr, 1991, pp. 21-22. regarding the concept of time.

⁸ Kurunmäki, 2000, p. 227f.

⁹ GHT, 30/11. 1865. „sjelfbeherrskning, under det sinnena äro i svallning, och som har moralisk kraft nog att omfatta en idé och bringa offer at dess förverkligande, med åsidosättande af alla personliga konsiderationer och betänkligheter”.

acting as one, or rather, by acting as a male individual within the nation. A people that acted as men would also be ready to sacrifice itself for the benefit and progress of the nation.¹⁰

Further on in the article, the correspondent speculated on the coming parliamentary reform and what impact a victorious political process would have on other European countries. A new, more democratic system of government was to bring together the most "noble" and "competent" men in the country. The Burghers' and Peasants' Estates had "overcome their suspicions" and united themselves in favour of reform. They wanted to share all their duties and rights with other citizens on equal terms. In their support of reform, these two Estates had expressed that education and patriotism were important for the prosperity of a country.¹¹ A true patriot primarily considered the collective need and the unity within the nation as important, and thus put aside his personal "egoistic" needs.¹²

Fäderneslandet had a similar way of presenting the need for male virtues in order to push through reform. On the 2nd of December in 1865, it published some last comments on the issue of parliamentary reform. *Fäderneslandet* asked the question: "When a whole people,[...]finally awakens from its doze and stand up as *a man* to fight for its rights, which can only be contested by the blind party mind and the crass self-interest, what does such a great and imposing event mean?"¹³ To say the people had to act as men was a way to enhance the need for rationality, strength and decisiveness within the reform campaign in order to convince about the need of reform.

1809, a point of reference

On the 14th of October, *Fäderneslandet* stressed the need for political reform in order to safeguard the state. "Sweden will be lost as an independent state, if for another couple of decades it continues with its present representation and conserves those childish and pedantic swaddling clothes, in which the constitutional committee of 1809 in such a miserable way enwrapped our whole constitution."¹⁴ The state was a body dressed up in a way that hindered progress and development.

¹⁰ See Mosse. 1990. pp. 25f.; Mosse. 1996. 1-15.

¹¹ GHT. 30/11. 1865.

¹² Kurunmäki. 2000. p. 124f. 182f. Viroli. M., *For Love of Country: an essay on patriotism and nationalism*. Oxford University Press. 1995. pp. 95-105.

¹³ Fäd.. 2/12. 1865. This was the last issue of *Fäderneslandet* before the deliberations on the reform proposal in the Nobility and Clergy. "Da ett folk[...] äntligen vaknar ur sin dvala och står upp sasom en man för att tillkämpa sig sina rättigheter. hvilka blott af det blinda partisinn och den krassa egennyttan kunna bestridas. hvad innebär en sådan storartad och imponant tilldragelse?"

¹⁴ Fäd.. 14/10. 1865. 1/11. 1865. A small article about how the number of sharpshooters was around 40.000 in the beginning of 1865, and that 43.628 rifles had been distributed to them. (Notis att skarpskyttarnas antal vid 1865 års början uppgick till närmre 40.000 man och att 43. 628 exercisgevär blivit utdelade till dem.)

The constitution of 1809 was interpreted in another way by the liberal newspaper *Aftonbladet* during the month of November. The paper started out saying that a generally heard opinion claimed that the Swedes would not be mature enough for more political freedom. It was also argued that the Swedes did not possess enough political and civil education to have the right to elect a parliament. Such an opinion was, however, completely wrong and obsolete, according to the verdict of the paper. First, individual freedom in Sweden was an ancient issue, and the north was the cradle (*vagga*) of freedom in Europe and the world. However, according to *Aftonbladet*, only in later decades did individual freedom within a state gain any political weight. In reality, the Swedish people had, as many other peoples, for centuries been under the custody (*förmyndarskap*) of states where governments had paid no attention to political rights.¹⁵

Second, the political freedom of the Swedish people had actually been increasingly repressed over the last centuries. The people had always been faithful to the king and fatherland, but still it had never gained any weight, or value, in the eyes of the government. The Estates actually running the state business had been the Nobility and Clergy, the paper continued. The masses of the people, i.e. the lower classes in society, were supposed to be governed and not bother about how to become politically active.¹⁶ This had been the fate of Swedish political freedom until the nineteenth century. After the revolution in 1809, there were certainly great hopes for a democratic society to develop in Sweden. *Aftonbladet* claimed, however, that the privileged Estates managed to retain their power for another fifty years. Sweden remained in the grip of its old political habits when other countries were reformed. The 1809 constitution was, therefore, to be seen from two perspectives. On the one hand, it had broken with the absolutist past but, on the other hand, the Estates had continued to govern the country in opposition to progress and democracy.¹⁷

Over a century of peace and stability the Swedish people had gained experience of freedom in a calm and sensible way. The concept of individual freedom had entered the minds of the Swedish people, step by step, and had always been received with calmness and respect. Therefore, it was impossible for *Aftonbladet* to understand that anyone could still argue that the Swedish people should not be mature enough for a parliamentary reform. Why should the Swedish people not be ready for individual and political freedom when most other populations in Europe had gained such responsibilities?¹⁸

¹⁵ AB. 16/11. 1865.

¹⁶ AB. 16/11. 1865.

¹⁷ See Andersson, *Fred i vår tid*, 2003, pp. 77f; *Kring 1809. Om regeringsformens tillkomst*, redigerad av Stefan Björklund, Stockholm, 1965, pp. 15–41.

¹⁸ AB. 16/11. 1865.

Returning to *Fäderneslandet*, the paper said that a rejection of the reform proposal would be devastating for the future of the country. Those representatives within the Estates who were not completely old fashioned and caught up in superstition, not wanting to let go of their privileges, or afraid of the “red ghost” and constitutional change, should understand the urgent need for reform. The masses within the country desired a parliamentary reform. The Estates should understand that the least they could do for their fellow citizens was to sanction the proposal. *Fäderneslandet*, being a more radical newspaper, spoke like other radicals at the time. They declared themselves to be “speaking in the name of the people” who wanted a representative body in which they could put their trust.¹⁹

Fiction and dramatic structure

On the 18th of November, in *Östgöta Correspondenten*, a correspondent from Paris wrote about the latest gossip regarding Swedish reform in the French capital. By promoting the reform proposal, the Swedish government was considered to have shown appreciation and knowledge of modern government. The Swedish government had taken a leading position among European governments. Liberal (*frisinnade*) Frenchmen had read the king’s inaugural speech of the Swedish *Riksdag*. In connection with this speech, the correspondent had heard Frenchmen saying about the king: “He is a ruler, who understands that he walks at the head of a people, which will become free and happy”.²⁰

The correspondent of *Östgöta Correspondenten* reported, in addition, that the Frenchmen truly believed that a revolution would break out in Stockholm, if the reform proposal were to be rejected. He had, indeed, had to explain that Swedish citizens were no revolutionaries and that they would not take to violence, even if reform were to be defeated. The Frenchmen could not understand that a revolution would not be an option in Sweden if the Nobility voted against reform. French society, which still had the French Revolution fresh in its memory, probably saw a rebellion as the better option, rather than waiting for the next reform proposal. Therefore, it was clear that the correspondent had a different point of view on the necessity of revolution, in comparison with his French liberal friends.²¹ The story seemed to be pure fiction in parts, however, so it might also have been the case that the correspondent had made up this story in order to stress an “imagined” Swedish political weight in Europe. This story could then be considered as part of the reform rhetoric and its attempt of creating a narrative in favour of reform.

¹⁹ Kurunmäki, 2000, 190f.

²⁰ ÖC, 18/11, 1865.

²¹ ÖC, 18/11, 1865.

Even so, the article clearly expressed the stereotypical traits of the Swedish and French people i.e. that the Swedes were a calm people, while the Frenchmen considered revolution as something legitimate in society. The article may, therefore, have been an attempt to open the eyes of the Swedish people, thus making them conscious of other alternatives, should the parliamentary reform be rejected. The aim was perhaps to stir the lower classes in society to prove the opposite, namely that the Swedes were able to take to revolutionary action for societal change, as progress in Sweden was claimed to have an European relevance.

The above mentioned article attempted to convince the Estates and public opinion about the necessity of reform. The pro-reform movement wanted, in my view, to underline the interest a European public had in the Swedish reform, in order to put pressure on the Riksdag to ratify the reform proposal. Such a story was a rhetorical tool in the reform debate. The Swedes, and their political context, were put in relation to the French and vice versa. The French Revolution was mentioned in order to stress an alternative action, should the reform fail.

Another fictive story, an entertaining and comic dialogue, was published in the same period, picturing a conversation between two men in the street of a Swedish small town. It was published in *Östgöta Correspondenten* at the beginning of December 1865. The two men, Per and Otto, met in the street to discuss their opinions on the future of reform.

Per: What do you think about the royal [reform] proposal?

[...]

Otto: The estates, they are old fashioned and[...] it suits best to put them in two chambers. But, look Per, this is what the nation thinks, and it looks, as if the king is of the same opinion; but he has many nice servants who, together with their equals, fear not being able to maintain their places forever[...]the nation is similar to you and me – it can endure a lot, just like the donkey. But if it gets teased too much, then it can happen, as with the donkey, that it lashes out and kicks away everything, which have been unpleasant and too heavy for her to carry.

Per: Yes, but it would never be that bad here, would it?

Otto: Yes, who knows?

Per: Well then, what use do then the gentlemen have of keeping their three estates?

Otto: The first estate says to guard the throne – you remember 1809 don't you. The second estate says the same thing about religion [...]. And out of love only – love for the fatherland – they consider themselves not being able to give away their birth rights, or the privileges belonging to the estate, to make laws and decide the taxes of the country.

[...]

They continued to argue about some local barons. Per considered the local barons to be useless money spenders ruining themselves. Therefore, they had no right to sit in the Noble Estate and vote on important issues for the country. Otto, on the other hand, was defending the local barons by saying that they were good and trustworthy persons. However, Otto then made an ironic comment on the nobles. It was a pity that they could not afford to

attend all the *Riksdag* deliberations, as they thus missed the opportunities to become members of executive committees. He referred to a general criticism arguing that the nobles failed to participate in parliamentary work.

Otto: I really think that the time has come for the nation to take care of its business[...]; because it must be without dignity that some few get in contributions, what several thousands of honorable families need for their maintenance.²²

This example was a piece of fiction but valuable as a part of the reform narrative. The story was told in order to show that people on all levels were discussing reform. The comic plot sent a message of criticism to the Estates. In particular the last quote, where Otto says that “the time has come” to take care of the business of the nation relates to the argumentation of the reform movement. The moment to ratify the reform proposal was there, before a general turmoil in Europe would impede the possibility for a peaceful constitutional change. It was important for reformists to have a “convincing picture of the future”, as Jussi Kurunmäki says, in discussions on the consequences of either a failed or a succesful political process.²³ The comic excerpt enwrapped the discussion on a possible revolution in a theatrical dialogue. In the beginning, Otto compared the nation with a donkey that, when irritated, lashes out and tries to get rid of everything it does not want to carry anymore. The nation would thus, if it were not to gain a reform, act like the donkey and try and get rid of an obsolete governing system by means of violence, i.e. revolution.

The dramatic structure of the story attempted to enhance the tensions within the texts and present convincing arguments before the audience. Thus, for instance, on the 30th of November, *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts Tidning* continued the discussions on the impact of a succesful reform process on other European countries. The correspondent was convinced that the “powerful reform movements” all over Europe would be influenced, look for inspiration, and even learn from a small, but “calm, free, and happy” people. In the event of a

²² ÖC. 2/12. 1865. Per: Hwad säger du om den kungliga propositionen?

Otto: Ständerna, de äro gammalmodiga och [...] passar det bäst att sätta dem i två kamrar. Men, ser du Per, detta tycker nationen, och det ser ut, som kungen tänkte detsamma: men han har många fina tjenare och dessa med sina gelikar frukta för att icke kunna bibehålla sina platser i all framtid[...] nationen liknar dig och mig – den fördrager mycket, liksom asnan. Men blir den för mycket retad, så kan det hända, att den gör, som asnan, slår bakut och bortsparkar allt, hwad som varit denne misshagligt och för tungt att bära.

Per: Ja, men så farligt blir väl det aldrig här?

Otto: Ja, hvem wet.

Per: Na, hwad nytta hafwa väl herrarne da af att behålla sina 2:ne stand.

Otto: Första standet säger sig, wakta thronen – du minns väl 1809. Det andra standet säger detsamma om religionen[...]. Och af bara kärlek – fosterlandskärlek – anse de sig icke kunna lemna ifran sig de medfödda eller med standet förenliga rättigheterna att lagstadga för och beskatta landet.

Otto: Mig tycks verkligen tiden vara inne att nationen tager hand om sina affärer[...] ty owärdigt maste det vara att nagra få erhålla i underhåll, hwad flera tusental ärbara familjer behöfva för sitt uppehåll.

defeat, everything would, however, be different. A rejection of parliamentary reform would lead to hard times, a period of revolution, a "waste of forces", and popular discontent. The reform movement would however enter a new stage of organization. In the long run, it would be impossible to defeat this movement.

The rhetoric in the press contrasted a story of victory against the story of the tragedy which would be the result of a rejection of the reform proposal. A happy ending, which is the outcome of a comic plot structure, starts out in chaos. A tragic plot starts out on top of success, to then precipitate into a catastrophe. Therefore, if the decisive Swedes wanted a happy ending they should support reform, because otherwise rougher times would come.



Figure 4 A witty drawing from Fäderneslandet, 18/11, 1865.²⁴

²³ Kurunmäki, 2000, p. 195.

²⁴ Translation of the text. — So, what will be the outcome of the reform proposal? The Oracle: Its destiny lies in your hands and for the rest I do not answer any *political* questions.

- Is "Society ill" then?

- (The Oracle: nor do I answer questions of medicine, goodbye!)

Two listeners: Well, there he was told off!

The image shows how King Charles XV went to the oracle to ask about the outcome of the reform proposal. The Oracle, however, did not reply to any of the questions as politics and medicine considering them probably too

Reform meetings and Addresses

During the months before the final voting of reform in 1865, reform meetings were organized throughout the country. Another important part of the reform movement were addresses, which expressed the need of reform, sent to the prime minister in Stockholm. Already in 1863, a Central Committee had been founded by a conference in favour of reform in Stockholm. The aim of the committee was to organize the propaganda campaign in favour of parliamentary reform. The main task would be to promote and support the organizing of reform meetings throughout the country and to set up a standardized pattern for such meetings. The committee members had, at the beginning, different opinions on the issue of the recipients of the campaign. Some wanted to convert only the nobility, while others wanted to direct the reform meetings to all reform opposition within the Estates. L.J. Hierta wanted outright agitation and not only general information in order to convert the conservative reform opposition.²⁵

The standardized model for the meetings initially stated a) some of the organizers should describe the new reform proposal and evaluate to what extent it was different and better than the constitution built on four Estates; b) after this introduction a general discussion should follow; c) the organizers should then ask the participants whether they would support the new reform proposal; d) if the answer was yes, then petition lists were to be signed by the participants; e) the textmaterial for the general discussion should be the call for reform meetings that the committee had already put in circulation.²⁶

The meetings mostly followed the requested pattern and, in addition, also decided on representatives to travel to Stockholm to deliver the addresses. The meetings also had the aim, at the local level, to convince members of the Nobility and the Clergy to vote in favour of a parliamentary reform. Yet another function was to inform people in general about the need for reform. The argumentation and symbolic display of the meetings were similar to the other political festivities which have been analyzed in this thesis. In order to show the similarities in the organization and construction of different political festivals and meetings in the 1860s in Sweden, some few examples of reform meetings will be presented in this section of the chapter.

delicate. The two listeners standing in the background is the Pope and the French Emperor, who were happy about the vague answers.

²⁵ Ekman, 1966, pp. 144f. The members of the committee were, among others, Hugo Hamilton, Per Reinhold Tersmeden, Gustaf Cederschiöld, L.J. Lovén, A.W. Björck, August Blanche, Lars Johan Hierta, Anders Gudmundsson, Jan Persson and J.O. Almqvist. See Kurunmäki, 2000, p. 27. It spread information in favour of reform. It wanted to convince the Estates to vote in favour of reform and, furthermore, convince public opinion of the advantages and the need of reform.

²⁶ Ekman, 1966, pp. 146f.

Reform meetings

Already in the spring of 1865, reform meetings started to be organized every now and then across the country. In April and May meetings were held in Norrköping and Örebro, while in November reform meetings were held in Örebro, Göteborg, Helsingborg and Stockholm. These meetings will be analyzed in the following sections of the chapter. The meeting in Norrköping was held on 26th April, while the one in Örebro was organized on 17th May. Norrköping was known for being a working class town where the workers' association was rather big and important in that period. Örebro, on the other hand, was well known as a liberal town and the base of the liberal paper *Nerikes Allehanda*.²⁷

Invitation and organization

The meeting in Norrköping had been organized by a local businessman (handelsman) and former representative in the *Riksdag* (W.M Ekelund). They had invited all the town inhabitants that were interested in the matters of reform. The meeting was held at 4 o'clock in the club house of the local Workers' Association. A president of the meeting was elected, Mr. Ekelund himself, who then briefly described the history of the reform proposal and followed up with his own clear declaration in favour of reform.²⁸ Meanwhile, the reform meeting in Göteborg in November was organized by sixteen prominent citizens of the town.²⁹ The meeting in Göteborg was opened by the vice president of the town council (Ekman) who, similarly to Mr. Ekelund in Norrköping, wanted Göteborg to openly declare itself in favour of reform. The organizers desired that the "privileged Estates", out of free will, should step down from their high horses and sacrifice their privileges, like "victims", on the "altar of the fatherland". The „altar“ here was the *Riksdag*, and had nothing to do with the church. In this context, Kurunmäki stresses how the *Riksdag* was „considered as an *agora* in which the affairs of the fatherland were discussed [...]“³⁰ The parallels rather were being made with the

²⁷ ÖC. 29/4 and 18/11. 1865. See Biographix appendix.

²⁸ ÖC. 29/4. 1865. *Norrköpings Tidningar* reported that around 200 people came to attend the meeting and that a great part of them belonged to the working classes.

²⁹ ÖC. 18/11. 1865. The initiators of the meeting were J. J Ekman (shopkeeper and vice president of the town council), C. H Ewert, (justitieborgmästare), colonel Ch. Berg, P. Wieselgren (vicar), W. Karström (chief of custome), the businessmen and shopdirectors James Dickson, J. J Dickson, Oscar Dickson, Sw. Renström, L. Bergman, the town council members Charles Dickson, E.G Lindström and A Philipson, and, finally, the town officials Th. Berger, E.I.E Ugglä, and C.W Drakenberg.

³⁰ ÖC. 18/11. 1865. Cf. Kurunmäki. 2000, p. 186.

Ancient Greece and its concept of direct democracy where the men discussed the political matters in the *agora*.

In Helsingborg a patriotic festivity was also organized in November in 1865 in order to express the pro-reform opinion of its inhabitants.³¹ Already on 18th November, *Öresundsposten* in Helsingborg published a general invitation to the patriotic festivity. The paper stated, that „also within this society there is a need for citizens from all classes,[...] to gather and in unity[...]express their conviction and give form to their thoughts.“ Regarding the fact that Helsingborg was a frequent organizer of ritual events, the invitation article reported that it probably was unnecessary to make an effort to convince the inhabitants to participate in the meeting. It was already certain that the locals would, as always, hasten to attend the patriotic meeting in order to express their sympathies and support the reform proposal.³²

Nyare HelsingborgsPosten reported that around 300 people had gathered on the Sunday evening in the main hall of hotel Mollberg. It was pointed out that the people came from all social classes and, furthermore, including some prominent persons from the local nobility. The evening started with the sharpshooter music corps playing and, thereafter, the mayor was elected as chairman of the meeting.³³

The main meetings in favour of reform were held in Stockholm at the beginning of December, but already on 21st November reformists within the Nobility organized a pro-reform meeting. The general invitation to the meeting, which was published in all the major newspapers, started out by saying the „King wants“. The time was ripe for reform: „The power of the decision, which will be made, cannot be doubted by anyone. The solution to the reform question is, in this moment, the most important issue in society.“³⁴ The organizers of

³¹ The festivity was held on the 19th November in 1865. ÖP, 18/11, 1865. Yet another reform meeting was held in Örebro in November. The meeting was held in the town hall and attended by around 300 persons. The participants were dignitaries such as town officials, magistrates, military officials, shopkeepers and artisans. From the countryside came foundry proprietors (brukspatroner), estate owners (possessionater), local representatives of the Peasants' Estate, circuit judges and jurymen (nämndemän). The only conflict of opinion was whether Örebro should send a reform deputation to Stockholm, or whether it should join the reform deputation that was to be sent from Göteborg. The meeting agreed upon sending an independent deputation from Örebro. AB, 23/11, 1865. ÖC, 18/11, 1865.

³² ÖP, 18/11, 1865. „äfvén inom detta samhälle finnes för medborgare af alla klasser.[...]jett behov att sluta sig tillsammans och att i sådan enighet[.....]uttala sin öfvertygelse och at sina tankar göra en bestämd form.“ The organizers who had signed the invitation to the meeting were: O. Toll (captain and commander), V. Landegren (mayor), Z.F.A. Stenkula (doctor), O.P. Sturzen-Becker (member of city council), J.M. Zellinger (customs officer), N.P. Nordin (vice president of city council), P. Henckel, (member of city council), C.E. Hedström (businessman, handlande), N. Rosenberg (businessman).

³³ NHP, 21/11, 1865; ÖP, 30/11, 1865.

³⁴ ÖC, 18/11, 1865. The meeting was held in the festivity hall *Stora Börssalen* and the aim was to further discuss the reform proposal in order to convince more Nobility members to vote in favour. „Wigten af det beslut, derwid kommer att fattas, kan af ingen misskännas. Representationsfrågans lösning är i denna stund samhällets wigtigaste angelägenhet.“ The organizers of the meeting were: Ludvig af Ugglas, I.M. Björnstjerna, Gillis Bildt, Oscar Alströmer, Edvard Carleson, Carl Axel Mannerskanz, Pehr Ehrenheim, Carl Nordenfalk, Eric af Klingt

the meeting found it essential to discuss the reform proposal with the members of the Nobile Estate, as it actually was them who would need to sacrifice their privileges.³⁵

On the 2nd of December in Stockholm, the reform "friends" within the Nobility held a reform meeting at Hotel Suède.³⁶ The meeting did not discuss the reform question in itself but rather the tactical procedures that should be adopted the following day in the *Riksdag*. The decision was that representatives in favour of reform should speak briefly in the *Riksdag* deliberations the following day. If the reform proposal were voted down, the other pro-reform representatives of the Estate were to make reservations against the decision, so that the process would be given the character of an open voting.³⁷

Speeches and cheering

Returning to the reform meeting in Norrköping in April, it started out with one speaker clearly saying that the reform movement should not push for reform with agitation, but rather trust the Estates to deal with the question. Many earlier reform proposals had been postponed and, therefore, he believed that also this proposal would follow the same destiny until a better one were presented. The speaker blamed the press for the constant agitation in favour of reform without consideration of different opinions. He wanted to present a list to the meeting, to be signed by those who shared his opinion that the participants in the meeting were not mature enough to make decisions on such an important political issue as parliamentary reform.³⁸

Östgöta Correspondenten was surprised of the performance of the local speaker who rejected reform and accused the press of being an arrogant agitator in the reform matter. The speaker (Mr. Schwarz) was described as being an honest and noble citizen who, during his period in the *Riksdag*, had often been in favour of modern reforms and changes. The paper thought that Mr. Schwarz, if anyone, should have been conscious of the need of replacing the outdated Estates with a two-chamber parliament. Therefore, *Östgöta Correspondenten*

and F. Åkerman. ÖP. 18/11. 1865. „Representationsfragans lösning är i denna stund samhällets viktigaste angelägenhet.”

³⁵ Kurunmäki. 2000. pp. 228f.

³⁶ At the same time, the opposition to reform within the Nobility had gathered a meeting at hotel Phoenix in Stockholm. The meeting discussed the counter proposal to reform which had been presented by the Nobility member Henning Hamilton. See ÖC. 6/12. 1865. In the end of November, Henning Hamilton had already organised a meeting at hotel Phoenix in order to present the counter proposal to reform. Thus it was that counter-proposal which was further discussed at the meeting the 2nd of December 1865. See AB. 22/11. 1865.

³⁷ ÖC. 6/12. 1865. The meeting was held in *Stora Börssalen* (a festivity hall). Were the reform proposal not to succeed, the reform group decided to continue its meetings and work towards reform.

responded to his harsh opinions saying that one would have to wait forever for a complete and satisfactory proposal. The press should not be mocked because it had the task to express various opinions in political matters and the paper believed that the press had done so. In a democratic society the press was not to be censured. People expressing opinions through the press were mature enough to do so even if they were not representatives in the *Riksdag*.³⁹

Östgöta Correspondenten explicitly showed its dislike of the political opinions of Mr. Schwarz and it also responded to his critique of the reform proposal. On one hand, there were different opinions during the meeting and, on the other hand, the more conservative opinions were criticized openly in the reports. *Östgöta Correspondenten* underlined its liberal stance but, at the same time, the paper was rather careful in describing Mr. Schwarz as an honest and noble citizen, using irony to criticize Schwarz.⁴⁰

Östgöta Correspondenten attempted at a dramatical tension in the reports on the meeting. The conflict did take place at the meeting, but the paper probably underlined it in order to make the pro-reform argumentation stronger. Mr Schwarz was presented as the „bad guy“, the pro-reform movement the „good guy“ in the story. Comedy versus tragedy and good versus the evil were efficient structural parameters in order to strengthen the pro-reform narrative.

The speeches at the meetings in Örebro, Göteborg and Helsingborg were mainly arguing in favour of reform. In Örebro, a local bookshop owner (Bohlin) said that he expected the conservatives to be positive towards the reform proposal. First of all, they wanted to preserve “a dear fatherland, its independence, and valuable interests” and, therefore, the conservatives would be bound to be in favour of a reformed parliament. Even though the conservative groups in society wanted to preserve the “good old” habits and systems, they should understand that in the long run their resistance would only favour the more democratic and liberal groups in society.⁴¹ The main rhetorical tool was to plead to the Nobility and the Clergy to act for the welfare and prosperity of the nation. A true patriot would be in favour of parliamentary reform as a way of securing national progress without abandoning traditional values.⁴²

³⁸ ÖC, 29/4, 1865.

³⁹ ÖC, 29/4, 1865.

⁴⁰ ÖC, 29/4, 1865. The other speakers at the meeting talked in favour of reform and expressed a wish that the people should sign the pro-reform lists which had been presented by the central committee (Centralkommitteen). They hoped that as many as possible, by signing, would show their support for the reform proposal. According to *Norrköpings Tidningar*, a majority of the participants had signed the reform list before leaving the meeting. The lists could also be signed in two bookstores in town in that period, so that as many as possible could give the reform their support. ÖC, 29/4, 1865.

⁴¹ NA, 17/5, 1865.

⁴² Kurunmäki, 2000, p. 179.

Bohlin continued to describe the different Estates and stressed the different benefits they would be able to extract from a parliamentary reform. Telling a story about the Estates was yet another rhetorical tool in order to strengthen the narrative on reform. The stories told about the Estates most frequent started off in the past in order to describe a progress or to make a comparison with the situation in present times. The past and the present were thus connected in order to say something about the future of reform. The past was used as a source of information in order to present reasons for the Nobility to vote in favour of reform. (See chap. 1)

The Nobility was described having lost its prestige by the reduction process of Charles XI in the seventeenth century. The Nobility had lost a great deal of its status as a landed aristocracy, to become instead dependent upon official positions within the state bureaucracy. However, this change of status might have been important and positive for stabilizing the house in the nineteenth century, according to the speaker. The Nobility had presently a more democratic, rather than aristocratic, organization in which men from various professions and positions in society came together. Through their "education, independence, position in society", they would be able to gain additional influence as representatives in a two-chamber parliament.⁴³

The description of democratic nobility was rather exaggerated. Rather it could be said that representatives from the high as well as lower aristocracy were united in the Estate. The reconstruction of the past in this speech was, to a certain extent, manipulated because the speaker wanted to convince the Nobility to confirm its democratic tendencies.⁴⁴

As regards the Burghers' and Peasants' Estates, it was already clear that they supported the reform proposal. The opposition against reform had, however, tried to discourage the Burghers' by saying that they would lose their political weight and be dominated by a "regiment of peasants". The middle classes did not believe in that kind of gossip, because they knew themselves to be an "honorable and illuminated middle class, spread all over the country, and its counterparts were missing in other countries, especially in Norway [...] this middle class would never defend or participate in any one-sided peasants' regiment".⁴⁵

⁴³ NA. 17/5. 1865.

⁴⁴ Regarding the Clergy, the speaker stressed how it would get a greater religious influence on the Swedish people through parliamentary reform. The representatives who would not be elected into the new parliament could dedicate their time to the church. This was a clear hint that the priests should dedicate themselves to spiritual matters and stay away from politics. See NA. 17/5. 1865.

⁴⁵ NA. 17/5. 1865. "...Jen aktningssvärd och upplyst medelklass, spridd öfver hela landet, hwartill motstycke saknas i andra länder, framförallt i Norge, och att denna medelklass wisst aldrig skall förfäktas eller medverka till något ensidigt bonderegemente". See further Nilsson, 1969, pp. 245-255.

The speaker ended the story about the Estates by expressing the hope that the royal reform proposal would be accepted with joy "by all those, who now are deprived of their rights and duties to participate in the election of representatives to the Riksdag, or in the profession as member of the Riksdag", thus not being able to "serve" their fatherland.⁴⁶ The persons who did not have right to access the *Riksdag* were of a rather large number. Many citizens with good education and brilliant careers were not allowed to participate in the political decision making of the country because they did not belong to any Estate.⁴⁷

At the reform meeting in Göteborg, the main issue was that the participants decided to send an address in favour of reform to Stockholm. The address should be presented by a deputation consisting of the organizers of the meeting, together with the pro-reform representatives in the *Riksdag*. The address should plead to the Nobility and its "magnanimous" character and "love of the fatherland".⁴⁸ Though the Nobility wanted to preserve old traditions and culture, they did not want to be considered betrayers of the fatherland. The Nobility considered itself the Estate which often sacrificed itself and tried to save the nation from external, as well as internal, crisis situations.⁴⁹

The reform address in Göteborg stressed that the reform proposal stated clearly the „significance for the fatherland of the truth, that in the life of the nations there are moments, which without unpredictable consequences for the future, cannot be spared“. The outcome of reform was important for the future and the present, i.e. the actions of the people in the present would be decisive in order to secure victory and progress. The Swedish people's freedom was an ancient heritage. The Swedish people's love for the fatherland and its sense of justice and civic rights was part of its historical development. Such a people could not oppose the reform proposal.⁵⁰ Thus the trinity of past, present and future was an important rhetorical tool in order to build up a convincing story in a speech, address or article.

The address then underlined that the inhabitants of Göteborg never had hesitated to state its opinions on important political and social issues. Therefore, they had felt it necessary to take the initiative to send a deputation to Stockholm in order to express their deep concern about what would happen, if the reform proposal were to be rejected. New municipal laws

⁴⁶ NA. 17/5. 1865. "af de många, som nu äro beröfwade rättigheten och pligten att wid wal till riksdagsmän, eller i utöfning af riksdagsmannakallet..."

⁴⁷ For example civil servants, doctors, solicitors, and scientists.

⁴⁸ The deputation planned to leave Göteborg the 27th of November in order to arrive in Stockholm in time before the voting regarding reform. ÖC. 18/11. 1865.

⁴⁹ ÖC. 22/11. 1865. This was a competing story, or narrative, from the conservatives in order to put themselves in a mythic relation with the past. Regarding patriotism see Kurunmäki. 2000, pp. 189-195.; Viroli. 1995, pp. 95-105.; Smith. 1999, pp. 60-65.

⁵⁰ ÖC. 22/11. 1865. „betydelsen för fäderneslandet af den sanning, att det i nationernas lif gifves ögonblick, hvilka icke, utan oberäkneliga följder för framtiden, kunna lemnas obegagnade."

had already brought the citizens to work towards a reduction of the differences between the social classes in society. The overall opinion was that the success of parliamentary reform would bring about the emergence of one, equal, civic class. However, if the reform did not come about then the Swedish people would enter a new period of darkness where the social differences would increase and remain for many years to come.⁵¹

In Helsingborg, Mr. Sturzenbecker said that Sweden no longer wanted to be divided into four Estates but, instead, become one people, thereby echoing the voices from Göteborg. All privileges were to be abolished. Sturzenbecker continued in saying that the reform was necessary and that he preferred a decision "today, rather than tomorrow". *Nyare Helsingborgs Posten* reported that the meeting took the opportunity to remember the noble deeds of Charles XV, the king who elaborated the reform proposal together with the government. *Nyare Helsingborgs Posten* was a rather conservative and royalist paper, and therefore it made Charles XV into the great hero of reform, though in reality the Prime Minister was the main architect behind the proposal.⁵²

The paper continued to describe the guiding rule of the new constitution: the king rules, but does not govern the country. The king should be morally responsible before God, but the ministers would be the actual governors, responsible before the nation. The "burden is more heavy than in times when the responsibility is illusory: Therefore, it can only be occupied by such characters, who know what they want and who feel what a people needs."⁵³ From having glorified the king as an initiator of the reform proposal, the report changed to hail the government.

In another speech, it was stressed that no other political issue had united the Swedish people such as the reform proposal.⁵⁴ The speaker said that the Swedish people had always, joyfully and sincerely, expressed its support to other peoples who liberated themselves from oppressive bonds. At the same time, it had not hesitated to show "pain" and anger towards every despotic and oppressive nation. The constitutional reform had a special place in the hearts of the Swedish people, as it were to have a direct impact on everyday life of the people. During the era of Romanticism it was a common literary tool to personify objects or abstract concepts in order to give life to the text.⁵⁵

⁵¹ ÖC, 22/11, 1865. Furthermore, the inhabitants of Göteborg expressed their gratefulness towards prime minister De Geer for having elaborated the reform proposal. They all felt confident that De Geer would be persistent and powerful enough to convince a majority of the Nobility members to vote in favour of reform.

⁵² Nilsson, 1989, pp. 275, 279f.

⁵³ NHP, 21/11, 1865; ÖP, 30/11, 1865

⁵⁴ The speech was made in connection with a toast to the fatherland. See NHP, 21/11, 1865; ÖP, 30/11, 1865.

⁵⁵ Hallberg, 1982, pp. 278f.

The opposition towards reform was said to have its origin in a fear of losing a certain position within the political system. However, one should not think that personal interests and “selfishness” lay behind the reluctance to accept reform. Rather, certain political groups were contrary to the reform out of their love for the fatherland. They did not believe parliamentary reform to be favourable for the country. The speaker did not want to criticize the different groups within the Nobility and the Clergy which opposed the reform proposal. The speaker himself was also perhaps rather right wing in his political beliefs. Another explanation could be that many nobles were present at the patriotic reform festivity. In a nationalist context it was, in addition, reasonable to define all positions as virtuous.⁵⁶

A political dispute

The final, and most important, discussion at the patriotic festivity in Helsingborg seems to have been the issue of an address to Stockholm. Some of the local, more liberal participants (Landegren, Sturzenbecker and Nordin) wanted to send a deputation to join the one from Göteborg. In this context, according to *Nyare Helsingborgs Posten*, the local shopkeeper Hedström argued against sending a deputation. Hedström recalled that the local Artisans’ Club had made a fool of itself in earlier organizations of political meetings and festivities. This report of what Hedström had said at the meeting was, however, openly contested by himself some days later in an article in *Nyare Helsingborgs Posten*.⁵⁷

Hedström started by saying that he had been misquoted by the paper and that he therefore wanted to publish a report of what he actually had said. Hedström wrote that he, indeed, had agreed upon sending an address to Stockholm in favour of reform. Furthermore, he claimed to have said that in Helsingborg there existed certain people, (the board of *Helsingborgs Posten* to be precise) who tried to mock the Artisans’ Club in every way. Its initiatives organizing political meetings and festivities in honor of Garibaldi and Abraham Lincoln, among others, had constantly been described as ridiculous by *Nyare Helsingborgs Posten*. Hedström had, therefore, argued that it would have been better to join the deputation from Göteborg instead of sending an independent one from Helsingborg.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ See Mosse, 1990, pp. 1-15; Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 179f.; Viroli, 1995, pp. 95ff.

⁵⁷ Already in an article on 17th November, *Nyare Helsingborgs Posten* had argued that the decision of the town of Göteborg to send a deputation to Stockholm to express its opinion in favour of reform had made people ask questions. The newspaper thought addresses in favour of reform to be unnecessary at such a late date before the voting process in the *Riksdag*.

⁵⁸ NHP, 24/11. 1865; Hallendorff, 1914, pp. 127ff.

There seems to have been a conflict between Hedström and *Nyare Helsingborgs Posten* regarding what Hedström said, or did not say, in his speech at the patriotic festivity on 19th November 1865. *Nyare Helsingborgs Posten* did not want to acknowledge such a conflict. Instead, the paper argued that if Hedström had had some "common sense" and education, then he would have been able to recognize his "own thoughts", such as they were reported by the correspondent of the paper. Differences of opinion were carried out at the lower level of interpretation of texts.

Nyare Helsingborgs Posten continued to criticize Hedström and the local Artisans' Club for being egoistic in their approach towards serious political questions. The paper argued that the demonstration itself, and not the actual cause, had been more important for Hedström and his friends. A parallel can be made to the inner Scandinavian circle of radical liberals and its followers in Stockholm. In 1864 they were accused by *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* of being more interested in going to political meetings and festivities, giving speeches, making toasts and cheering, rather than pondering the political reason behind the activities.⁵⁹ These radicals were described as "partygoers".

Nya Dagligt Allehanda was the enemy of the more radical political groups in nineteenth century Sweden. The paper was not entirely correct in its observations on the liberal movement. The pro-reform movement did have political ideas behind the organization of most festivities and, indeed, the rituals were used as tools for spreading messages of reform and union. In a contemporary context, nineteenth century American parades have been defined by Mary Ryan as marches without any specific political intent or significance. However, this opinion cannot be compared with *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*'s criticism of the radical liberals in 1860s Sweden, as the paper was not making an analytical statement. Rather it was a statement that was part of a political feud between conservative and liberal political fractions.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, many participants probably went to the meetings for social reasons. Still, by participating in the meetings and festivities, they were influenced by the political propaganda and thus confirmed their ties to certain political values and a certain common identity.⁶¹

⁵⁹ NDA, 2/11, 1864.

⁶⁰ See Ryan, 1989, p. 134; Hallendorff, 1914, pp. 127f.

⁶¹ Regarding the social power of rituals and the influence they have on the people participating, or joining, the French historian De Baecque emphasizes how a French thinker during the Revolution discussed that the "ideal" festival would occur when a large number of spectators joined together on equal terms. Because if a large group of people joined together in a crowd, as brothers, then every one of them would become an actor with a certain significance. See De Baecque, 1997, pp. 250f. Even though Sweden in the 1860s was not France during the Revolution, the same ideas regarding rituals and their participants can be used. In this context, Vernon has also mentioned how civic rites were a way for people without political power to criticize and protest against the central state and confirm its own identity within the nation. See Vernon, 1993, p. 71, 78.

Reform addresses

In connection to the reform meetings, a series of reform addresses were written and sent to Prime Minister De Geer in Stockholm from many towns and villages throughout the territory. *Aftonbladet*, published several lists of such addresses. On the 5th December, it was reported that Prime Minister De Geer had received an address from the county of Gävleborg. It expressed that the people in the provinces Gästrikland and Hälsingland truly believed the reform proposal to be based on justice and love for the fatherland. Furthermore, the address expressed gratitude towards His Majesty the King and the government who had worked to make reform come true. The people expressed a hope that the reform proposal be accepted by the four Estates because it would be "a testimony to the world, that political rights still, just as in a Swedish past are counterbalanced by civic duties towards a common fatherland."⁶² The past was referred to as a golden past where the Swedish people had political rights as well as civic duties. It was an example of an attempt to create continuity from a chosen past in order to legitimate a national political reform.⁶³

The reform proposal should abolish existing injustices within the political system. The proposal was considered to unite past routines with present demands and, therefore, maintain respect towards Swedish political history as such. The Bill for parliamentary reform was described as unique and, so far, better than any constitutional reform that had been made in other countries. Without risking an unstable system, the proposal confirmed royal power at the same time as it sanctioned the political rights of the people. A "magnanimous and patriotic proposition, which strikes root in thousands of breasts, is not a misleading illusion, but the reality of what is right, clearly and seriously convincing about what is, and about the significance of that time which will come".⁶⁴

Festivities on the 8th of December 1865

Press opinions on the victory of parliamentary reform

⁶² AB. 5/12. 1865.

⁶³ Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 2000, p. 1f.

⁶⁴ AB. 5/12. 1865. "högsinnadt och fosterländskt förslag, som slår sin rot i tusendens bröst, är icke en vilseledande hägring, utan verkligheten af det rätta, klart och allvarligt öfvertygande om hvad som är och om betydelsen af den tid som kommer."

This section of the chapter will look at opinions on the victory of the reform such as they were presented in the newspapers that have been analyzed in this chapter.

The ancient past

Recollection

When rejoicing about the victory of reform, the papers often used metaphors alluding to an ancient or golden past that had long been latent but was reawakened with reform. On the 9th of December *Fäderneslandet* claimed that the people would be an important concept for the future. The “old” society was gone and again the Swedish future looked promisingly national, as well as international. “The long period of dozing is over. The old Sweden was about to become a decrepit old man; but it has scratched its eyes with a strong grasp and awakened as a man.”⁶⁵ The Swedish nation had been dozing for many centuries, but in the end it had realized its male virtues and reawakened. The nation was presented with the metaphor of an old man in order to underline its degenerated constitution before reform. In fact, to reawaken as a man meant that the new nation had become one united people, i.e. a people of male citizens who would serve their fatherland.⁶⁶

Other periods however were also referred to in order to present a story in which the victory of reform was an important landmark. *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts Tidning* published the following poem in the beginning of December in 1865. Even though it was published some days before the actual ratification of reform, it can still be taken as an example as it described the societal outcome of victory.

It was an illusion, - so it *must* be;
You thought the Period of Liberty was again
When the Swedish king was just a pun.
And the Swedish kingdom – some knights!
That time is gone. Storskiftesverken
Have gone along since then moving many marks
And dividing properties in a better way
- We are all Swedes, quite simply.

Old ancestry is exchanged.
civic virtue – more than birth and blood.

⁶⁵ Fäd., 9/12. 1865. Det gamla Sverige höll på att blifva en utesvad gubbe: men det har gruggat sig i ögonen med ett kraftigt tag och vaknat upp som en man.

⁶⁶ Mosse, 1996, pp. 1-15.; Verdo, 1996, p. 420.; Pactau, 1990, pp. 445-455.

and better than to wander with inherited spurrs.
 is to earn them by fair play.
 Rise, Swedish noblemen! to new born honour
 You make the issue of people and time into yours!
 It is a question of old honour and capital
 And the fatherland! – for a House of Nobility!⁶⁷

The poem started out with an exclamation that reform was initially a dream and that the country had been transferred back to the eighteenth century and the Age of Liberty. However, the poet said, many things had changed since then and parliamentary reform had made the Swedes into one, equal, people. The past was again used as a point of reference, with the Age of Liberty as a terrifying example of a sudden change in the political system. In other poems the past was often an idyllic or golden past in relation to present oppression from the Nobility.⁶⁸ In the poem quoted here, the past stood in opposition to the rebirth of a new civic virtue where birth rights and privileges could no longer make a difference. In the second verse, the poet declared that each individual should earn his own living in a righteous way. An honourable citizen in the new fatherland should be a person who had no need for privileges, but would instead work hard to make his own success. With such an attitude, it would be possible for every citizen to meet the requirements for being elected to any of the two chambers in the new Parliament. The House of Nobility had been sacrificed, but the people had earned a fatherland.⁶⁹

Retention

⁶⁷ GHT. 1/12. 1865. The poem was written by Orvar Odd (Stürzenbecker). ÖC. 18/11. 1865.
 (Storskiften=amalgamations of smallholdings into large production units.)

Det var en villa. – så det *maste* vara:
 Du trodde "frihetstiden" ga igen.
 då Sverges konung var en ordlek bara.
 och Sverges rike – några riddersmän!
 Den tiden är förbi. Storskiftesverken
 gått fram sen dess och flyttat många märken
 och delat egoma på bättre sätt.
 Vi äro alla *svenskar rätt och slätt*.

De gamla anor bytas ut mot andra.
 medborgardygden – mer än börd och blod.
 och bättre än med ärfda sporrar vandra.
 är själf förtjena dem med idrott god.
 Upp, svenska ädlingar! till nyfödd heder
 I gören folkets, tidens sak till eder!
 Det gäller gamnal äras kapital
 Och fosterlandet – för en riddarsall!

⁶⁸ See Smith, 1999, pp. 61, 82f.

⁶⁹ *A Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century World History*, edited by John Belchem and Richard Price, 1994, pp. 341f., (Liberalism); Andersson, 2003, pp. 81-83.; Norborg, 1993, pp. 86-88.

An important point of reference in the recent Swedish past was the political revolution of 1809. In the quotes below, *Öresundsposten* put 1809 in comparison to the reform victory in 1865. A telegram arrived in Helsingborg on the afternoon of the 8th of December 1865, the day when the Clergy Estate sanctioned the proposal for parliamentary reform. The telegram stated this decision was a great victory. It had been won „without violence, without bloodshed and menloss, without hatred and bitterness, on the road of conviction, with the weapons of love and reason.“⁷⁰ *Öresundsposten* considered the victory to be as important as the political revolution in 1809, with the difference that Swedish peasants and burghers, together with the king and government, occupied the most prominent positions in 1865. The people had actively supported the construction of a new „fatherland“, and Sweden was about to enter into a new era of freedom, equality, enlightenment and strength.

The reform rhetoric often referred to the constitutional act of 1809 as the beginning of a new political era. 1865 completed what had been started in 1809, which was the year when Sweden was politically reborn in the sense that it abolished absolutism and the *Riksdag* reduced the power of the king. The people had gained some influence in political issues. The concepts of freedom and equality connected the political tradition that emanated from the French Revolution which considered the nation as a republic where the citizens were the supreme actors.⁷¹ *Öresundsposten* talked about a breakthrough, thereby subordinating a less convenient past under a glorious future. However, the past had been, and was, important in the rhetoric, as it had legitimated reform by gradually confirming its necessity. The French Revolution had rejected the past, but Sweden in the 1860s was instead embracing the past, while at the same time, peacefully, leaving it behind in favour of progress.

Patriotism

The telegram discussed above also praised the Nobility for having, in the end, shown an „elevated“ love of the fatherland. This was a deed which, according to *Öresundsposten*, in the future would be considered as a greater accomplishment than all the “honorable war efforts“ of the past. One could be noble and patriotic by sacrificing oneself on the battlefield, but it was

⁷⁰ ÖP, 8/12. 1865. „utan vald, utan blod och mansspillan, utan hat och bitterhet, på öfvertygelsens väg, med kärlekens och förståndets vapen.“

⁷¹ Of course, 1809 meant a break with the absolutist past in Sweden but still the monarchy was not overthrown and the Swedish people in general, the citizens, did not notice any considerable difference in the reshaping of power. See further Norborg, 1993, pp. 239ff; Andersson, 2003, pp. 15-19.; Hunt, 1984, pp. 18f.; Baker, 1990, pp. 1ff.

underlined that peaceful patriotism was nobler. *Öresundsposten* expressed the belief that the "Swedish people in this moment are stimulated by this feeling and thought, in order to meet the future with reliance and with the firm belief that God will hold his protecting and guiding hand over king, people and fatherland."⁷² The members of the Nobility had, in the end, turned out to be true patriots and good citizens as they, unselfishly, had put the need of the nation before their own egoistic privileges.

Göteborgs Handels-och Sjöfarts Tidning argued that similar changes in constitutions would have lead to "dangerous operations" in the body of the state in other European nations. In Sweden, on the other hand, constitutional reform had been a calm political change, which symbolized "an inner strength and health, powerful enough to handle any tasks for a patriotic goal".⁷³ The reform made it evident that the king was supported by the love and trust of the people, that the government had the support of the whole nation, a strong and decisive people. This inner strength would give political weight to a small nation among the great powers in the center of Europe. The people played a decisive role in the liberal reform rhetoric. Still, after the ratification of reform, society was, however, viewed in terms of God, king and people who worked for the well-being of the fatherland.⁷⁴

Male virtues were endlessly underlined in order to show that the nation had behaved in a rational, calm and decisive way in pulling through a reform. *Öresundsposten* presented an example of this reasoning on the 9th of December. The paper described the sanction of the "royal proposal for a representation" as one of the more "remarkable events" of the living generation. Parliamentary reform had become a reality after more than twenty years of struggle where, in the end, more or less the „entire nation“ had participated as the people „like a man approached the throne and placed its wishes, its hopes, yes its rightful demands of political justice and equality“.⁷⁵ The demands for political freedom were thus a male request. This was yet another example of a personification of the nation into a man of the nineteenth century.⁷⁶ Seen from a political point of view, the reform had elevated the Swedish people to the same level as many of the more free and enlightened nations of Europe. The

⁷² ÖP, 8/12, 1865. „svenska folket i detta ögonblick lifvas af denna känsla och tanke och kan med full förtröstan gå framtiden till möte, i fast tro på att Gud skall hålla sin skyddande och ledande hand öfver konung, folk och fosterland.“

⁷³ „en inre styrka och helsa. mäktig af hvilka uppgifter som helst för ett fosterländskt mål“. GHT, 15/12, 1865.

⁷⁴ GHT, 15/12, 1865.

⁷⁵ ÖP, 9/12, 1865. „det kungliga representationsförslaget“: „märkvärdigaste tilldragelse“: „som en man framträdde till tronen och nedlagt sina önskningar, sina förhoppningar, ja sina rättmätiga fordringar på politisk rättvisa och jemlikhet[...]“

⁷⁶ Mosse, 1985, p.23.

"rejoicing" which was heard in towns as well as on the countryside was, therefore, to be considered as a normal reaction.⁷⁷

The body

Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts Tidning claimed that the joy, which could be heard over the entire country, came from the depths of "the Swedish people's heart". This metaphor described the profound and honest joy of the Swedish people, at least the parts of it that supported reform. The victory of reform had put an end to all worries and doubts in order to give birth to great joy and happiness among the people.⁷⁸ *Fäderneslandet* used a similar body metaphor in its issue on the 9th of December. The 8th of December would forever "be engraved in the heart of the Swedish nation". From being a country separated into social classes, the nation had evolved into *one people*.

The sacral elements of the nation

The Lutheran-Evangelical faith had been closely linked to politics for centuries. The benevolent God helped the Swedish people to get on the right track socially as well as politically. Reform rhetoric, therefore, emphasized the unity of God, king and people within the fatherland in order to convincingly stress that a big political change had occurred. The unity of the people received a godly approval.

Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts Tidning expressed its gratefulness to the king who had played a decisive role in the process leading to reform. When he had sanctioned the new communal laws, he had, together with his ministers, constructed the foundations for a "new temple of the state". From that moment onwards, people would walk to the temple not in different Estates, "but as a people of brothers". In the end, everybody who had joined the process of reform should be hailed for their love to the fatherland.⁷⁹ They had all been good citizens and true patriots as they had worked together in order to elaborate a constitution which would bring progress and prosperity to all citizens within the fatherland. The

⁷⁷ ÖP. 9/12. 1865.

⁷⁸ GHT. 8/12. 1865.

⁷⁹ GHT. 8/12. 1865.

description of the process leading to victory of reform was rich on general as well as sacral metaphors in order to enhance the importance of reform, as well as of its "builders" who had sacrificed their own interest for the well-being of the fatherland. The fatherland should be seen as a church which fit well with the Swedish protestant traditions and the metaphors of the state as a house. The state was omnipotent and the people should obey it in political, as well as religious matters. The Luther-Evangelical faith was a part of the national identity and as such important in attempts to redefine and reconstruct the political society.⁸⁰

It can be argued that the metaphors referring to the „altar“ of the fatherland should be considered from a national point of view rather than a religious one. Thus the altar, instead, referred to the Riksdag, as has been mentioned earlier in this chapter. The national liberals often used religious, Lutheran, metaphors and sang „Our God is for us a mighty castle“ (*Vår Gud är oss en väldig borg*), but more as a part of a general tradition than as a sign of religious conviction. The national liberals and the radicals were probably not more or less religious than others but the religious language fitted well in a nationalist discourse. Religious metaphors and hymns in the debate on reform and union were referring back to the period as a great power when Lutheran faith had become attached to the state.⁸¹

French Revolution

Fäderneslandet carried influences from the revolutionary tradition in its articles. The radicals often wanted to get rid of old traditions since such traditions were supposed to benefit the conservative side in politics. However, the radicals did not really turn against the "ancient freedom" of the Swedish people but used the past as a linguistic tool in the reform debate, in their own way. The revolutionary rhetorical tradition manifested itself mainly as a demand for progress.⁸² In demanding progress, the radicals confirmed that they represented the free and independent nations of that period. The future Sweden was to be prosperous if the people only knew to use its power in a wise way. They would have to struggle and make sacrifices in

⁸⁰ See Classon, Urban. „Grundtvig, bonderörelse och folkkyrka“, in *Grundtvig - Nyckeln till det danska?*, edited by Hanne Sanders and Ole Vind. Centrum för Danmarksstudier vid Lunds Universitet. Makadam Förlag, 2003, pp. 60-90.

⁸¹ The hymn Our God is us a might castle was actually written by Martin Luther in the sixteenth century and became a central hymn for Gustavus II Adolphus in his making of a great power.

⁸² Kurumäki. 2000, p. 195.

order to take care of, and develop, a new modern society. "Now, only now, begins the serious work on the civilization process, which is our aim to push through. Never, for a moment, forget how enchantingly beautiful [hänförande skön] the present moment still may be, that we are the outposts of education and humanity in the high north! We have not gained this place for nothing; because our most powerful neighbour is the most fervent supporter of barbarians, and the implacable enemy of people's freedom."⁸³ True patriotism indicated demands for societal progress.

The victory of reform was especially praiseworthy, since many opponents had sacrificed their interests for the sake of the fatherland. Therefore, parliamentary reform would forever be an important page in the history of the Swedish people. Past controversies between the different Estates and social classes were to be forgotten in the bright future that lay ahead. "Now has arisen a new aurora for the Swedish people, and on the banner, which the goddess of the future carries in her arms, is engraved with golden letters; *Unity, brotherhood and reconciliation*."⁸⁴

Fäderneslandet's metaphors on the nation had doubtless revolutionary origins in a period when the cultural and political impacts of the French Revolution were still dominant in Europe. The goddess was the female symbol of the nation, while the newly born national constitution was described in terms of brotherhood among the people. The French Revolution had destroyed the patriarchal model which reigned in the absolutist social order. Thereafter, was the new order often referred to as a family of brothers in which everybody would be on equal terms to another.⁸⁵

The reports and discussions on the Bill were not so elaborated in the conservative *Nya Dagligt Allehanda*. The paper only shortly commented the sanction of the reform and the festivities following in Stockholm. The paper had no interest in copying the liberal and radical press.

⁸³ Fäd., 9/12, 1865.

⁸⁴ Fäd., 9/12, 1865. Another comment which was made that day in *Fäderneslandet*, was that the plays at the Royal Theatre had been chosen according to the important day. In the days before the 8th of December the plays performed had been "The Day is Breaking" ("Dagen gryr"), "A poor noble man" (En fattig adelsman), and "Good examples" (Goda exempel).

⁸⁵ Hunt, 1984, pp. 30-33., Hunt, 1992, p. 5f. 65-69.



Figure 5: The reform the Swedish people had hoped for in the beginning of 1865 had taken place on the 8th of December. From Fäderneslandet, 4/1, 1865.

Festivities

The celebration of the parliamentary reform on the 8th December 1865 in the towns of Helsingborg, Örebro, Göteborg and Stockholm will be the focus of this part of the chapter. The festivities will foremost be analyzed from their chronological structure, beginning in the afternoon with an open event and continuing with an open or closed celebration in the evening.⁸⁶

On the 7th December 1865, the analyzed papers, especially in Stockholm, exclaimed the great news that on the very same day the Nobility Estate had voted in favour of the royal reform proposal (361 against 294 votes). A great step on the road to democratization had therefore been taken. Greatfulness was expressed towards the Nobility Estate for their support for the reform, a "noble" decision, that it would never have reason to regret.⁸⁷ After the vote of the Nobility, it was certain that also the Clergy would approve the Bill.

Initially, the crowd that had assembled outside the house of the Estate of the Nobility did not believe the news of victory, but after a while there were no longer any doubts. The great message then spread quickly in the capital. In the evening, people assembled in the streets and in the squares in order to discuss the event and express their happiness regarding the success of reform in public spaces. In addition, the festivity hall *Operakällaren* was packed with people. When August Blanche and C.F Ridderstad gave their speeches on the victory of reform, all the doors were opened so that the crowds in the streets also could listen. *Nyare HelsingborgsPosten* claimed that the two speakers stood on tables as they gave their speeches. Blanche and Ridderstad staged their speeches as theatrical performances.⁸⁸ Thus the spectators could confirm, or contest, what was said by shouting, clapping their hands and whistling. The speakers appealed to the senses of the spectators, a tradition with roots in antiquity and popular in the revolutionary tradition.⁸⁹ Such speeches were given in similar ways in inns, pubs and festivity halls all over town. The celebrating crowds sung patriotic songs, gave speeches, cheered and toasted the king and the ministers. Many houses and palaces were illuminated in the evening in order to enhance the importance of the great day.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ The towns Helsingborg, Göteborg, Örebro and Stockholm have been chosen in accordance with the other case studies in the thesis.

⁸⁷ Fäd. AB. 7/12. 1865. The following day, on the 8th of December, the Clergy was to deliberate on the ratification of the reform proposal.

⁸⁸ Fäd. AB. 7/12. 1865.: See Vernon. 1993. pp. 107ff.

⁸⁹ Dupont. 1991. pp. 16f. Hunt. 1984. p. 53f; Friedland. 2002. pp. 165-170. See further chap III.

⁹⁰ AB. 8/12. 1865.

In the evening, a crowd of some thousand well dressed citizens, on their own initiative, marched through the streets. The crowd stopped in front of the house of Prime Minister De Geer and a choir started to sing „From the depth of Swedish people's hearts“ (Ur svenska hjärtans djup). Thereafter, August Blanche exclaimed: „Long live the great statesman and the noble citizen Louis De Geer!“. The people cheered and de Geer expressed his thanks for the homage from an open window in his house. De Geer also exclaimed a: „Long live the king and the fatherland!“ after which the crowd sang the royal anthem.⁹¹ Swedish society was still monarchical and followed a traditional cultural pattern.⁹²

The crowd honoured some other reform oriented ministers and, in the end, they also honoured the king by singing and cheering outside the royal castle. Outside every minister's house they exclaimed a "long live the king and the fatherland" and ended by singing the royal anthem. This was a pattern used in the entire pro-Reform propaganda activities. Rhetorically, revolutionary symbols accentuated the need for republican freedom, but in the end the propaganda confirmed a traditional monarchic cultural pattern. Political liberty did not signify the abolition of existing monarchic and religious systems in order to create a new republican society. Instead, political freedom signified a return to an ancient ideal when king and people had worked together without the Estates.⁹³

On the same evening, the 7th December in 1865, a smaller celebration took place in Göteborg. The sharpshooter music corps and a "great number of singers" marched, together with a big crowd of people, towards the square named after Gustavus II Adolphus. There, they gathered around the statue of the great warrior king and started to sing patriotic songs. They all cheered the beloved king, the ministers, and the reform proposal. The square was illuminated, and "in the clear evening" the songs and cheers expressed "that patriotic feeling, which in these days of hope and fear has longed to, finally, get some air". With these words, *Östgöta Correspondenten* described the atmosphere the day before the final ratification of parliamentary reform.⁹⁴ In mentioning that it was a celebration on a clear evening, the paper

⁹¹ „Lefve den store statsmannen och ädle medborgaren Louis De Geer“. „Lefve konungen och fäderneslandet“.

⁹² Hunt, 1992, p. 5f. The crowd of people continued its march through the town, giving a similar homage also to the statesmen Manderström and Gripenstedt. A newspaper article underlined that the procession marched through the streets in a calm way and without making any disturbing noises. This can be understood in the sense that one wanted to communicate that it was calm and respectable citizens who went in procession and not any masses who were trying to disturb the order. See AB, 8/12. 1865. „Gud bevar konungen“. Telegrams arrived to the editor's office from several towns around the country. For example from Hudiksvall, Göteborg, Filipstad and Örebro. Many of the telegrams described that the event had been celebrated by cheering, speeches and music which had been performed by the local choir societies and sharpshooter corps.

⁹³ AB, 8/12. 1865. A meeting had been held, by Stockholms handverkarförening (the artisan association) on the 7th of December and there everybody present had expressed „God save the king and the fatherland“. The participants had expressed their joy and given their support to the reform proposal.

⁹⁴ ÖC, 16/12. 1865. „den fosterländska känsla, som under dessa dagar af hopp och fruktan längtat att slutligen en gång få ge sig luft.“.

interpreted the events in terms of a light that would make it easier for patriotism to spread its roots and pave the way for continued reform.⁹⁵

On the day of the vote of the Clergy, festivities were both *open* and *closed*. There was a difference between official, state sanctioned, and locally organized festivities. This organizational difference manifested itself in differences in rhetoric and participation. Locally organized festivities were more open to participants from the general public and for more radical political messages.

Dramas in the street

Below, I specify in which ways public urban spaces were used for national political purposes. The participants were actors who, by taking part in the festivities, voluntarily or involuntarily, confirmed the legitimacy of reform. They acted out a drama in which a story about the nation was told, especially a story about future democratic progress.

The reform day in Helsingborg started around 2 p.m. with cannonades followed by the marching of the sharpshooter association's Music Corps through the streets of the town.⁹⁶ On the same day, the 8th of December, *Öresundsposten* published an invitation to the reform party and also a general program of all the festivities that were to take place. The program indicated various activities:

1:o 6 o'clock afternoon. Thanksgiving service and Prayer in the town's Church.

2:o The Municipality will be illuminated, besides which tar barrels will be lighted.

3:o after the Morning Service, assembly at the Municipality, from where torchlight procession with music, starts;

4:o The Torchlight procession stops at Hôtel de Mollberg, where the Party continues and ends in the big hall. – Fee 1 rdr 25 öre.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Arvidsson, 2000, pp. 78f. The procession of sharpshooters, singers and people in general continued through the streets of Göteborg in order to pay honour to the bishop and the mayor who both had been reform friends. This procession through the town was a last attempt to express a general opinion in favour of reform.

⁹⁶ In Göteborg, the reform day was celebrated in a similar way, see GHT, 9/12, 1865.

⁹⁷ ÖP, 8/12, 1865. 1:o klockan 6 eftermiddagen. Tacksägelse och Bön i stadens Kyrka;

2:o Radhuset illumineras, hvarjemte tjärtunnor antändas;

3:o efter slutad Gudstjenst, allmän sammankomst vid Radhuset, hvarifran fackeltåg, under musik företages;

The program was not as precise and thorough as the one for the Garibaldi festival in 1862, since it only stated the various activities and not the supposed participants. The report of the festivities in *Öresundsposten* on 9th of December was to some extent more explicit. The paper said that the morning service was attended by „an immensely numerous audience, among which associations with banners.“ The report described that the procession through the streets, starting from the town hall, had been “preceded by banners together with the sharpshooter associations’ Music Corps and Helsingborgs’ Choral society/.../”.⁹⁸ *Nyare Helsingborgs Posten* reported that municipal and other voluntary officials and corps, together with inhabitants of the town, marched in procession, “accompanied by music and numerous banners and standarts“, towards the church. The church had been illuminated specially for the occasion.⁹⁹ Probably the central figures of these festivities, just as at the Garibaldi festival in 1862, were persons belonging to the different local associations and clubs.

The service in the church, and the sermon by the local vicar, was thoroughly described by *Nyare Helsingborgs Posten*. The vicar said that the Reform Day was of great significance for the Swedish nation. The Swedish people should thank God for his benevolence and for the successful ratification. The new constitution was “true, as it is based on justice and faith [...]” and, continually, the vicar claimed that every citizen in the future could claim his rights without being bound by class distinctions.¹⁰⁰ The vicar quoted „It is not good for the human being to be alone“. He explained: „A day of profound significance for the land of Svea has begun; more than temporary victories fought on foreign land and horrible defeats, it shall intervene in the inner life of our nation and its development.“¹⁰¹ The reform rhetoric continued in the celebrations of the ratification. As in nineteenth century Argentina, a vicar made it his task to deliver a message of patriotism to the citizens.¹⁰²

After the church service, the procession marched to the city hall which had been illuminated specially for the festive occasion. Thereafter, a large crowd of people gathered „in the spacious square[...]soon one saw a long torch procession with music and banners in the front marching forward, first around the square and thereafter through the most fashionable streets.“ In front of hotel Mollberg the procession stopped and the participants went up to the

4:o Fackeltaget stadnar vid Hôtel de Mollberg. hvarest å stora salen Festen fortsättes och avslutas.

⁹⁸ ÖP, 9/12. 1865. „en ofantligt talrik menighet, hvaribland korporationer med fanor.“: „förelärd af fanor samt Skarpskytteföreningens Musikkor och Helsingborgs Sangförening.“

⁹⁹ NHP, 9/12. 1865. „stater och corpser“, .. förelärd af musik och talrika fanor och standarer“.

¹⁰⁰ NHP, 9/12. 1865. „Den grundar sig på rättvisa och förtroende[...].“

¹⁰¹ NHP, 9/12. 1865. „En dag af djup betydelse för Svea land har idag randats: den skall mer än tillfälliga segrar, utkämpade på fremmande botten, och gräsliga nederlag ingripa i war nations innersta lif och utvecklingen af densamma.“

¹⁰² See Verdo, 1996, pp. 401–429.

main hall of the hotel[...]“ to continue the celebrations of reform day.¹⁰³ The hall had been decorated with a bust of king Charles XV surrounded by banners and coats of arms inscribed with the names of the different ministers. Next to the bust was also put a transparent with the inscriptions “5th January 1863” and “8th December 1865”. The 5th January 1863 was the day when the reform proposal had been presented before the Riksdag and the 8th December 1865 was the day when all the four Estates had finally ratified it. Another transparent board delivered the king’s motto “The land shall be built with law”.¹⁰⁴

Speeches recollecting the past

In Örebro, shortly after the telegram about the ratification of the reform proposal arrived, people assembled in the streets to celebrate the important day. The town was illuminated and the sharpshooter music corps, together with the local school’s music corps and Örebro choir society, played and sang in the streets. Their march ended in front of the Engelbrekt statue. This route had similarities with rituals during the French Revolution.¹⁰⁵ The version of this tradition in Örebro was rather melodramatic. The crowd marched loudly through the streets, to gather around the statue. As loyal citizens, they admired the great hero and expressed their faith in the new democratic nation. The speaker, a local representative, was an actor who recited a dramatic play, the speech, where he told a story in honour of reform.

Initially the speaker stressed that the Swedish Nobility had had an important role in the road to reform. The “laurel – the reward for a victory on the field of civic development – which is now handed to them [*i.e. the Nobility*] from the people, shall not fade in comparison with the laurels, which their ancestors cut on the battlefields.”.¹⁰⁶ The speaker compared the struggle for reform with a battle from when Sweden was a great power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The reform was put in historical context of a returning golden past in which the nobility had played a glorious role, and the speaker pointed to a coming strong position for Sweden on the international arena.¹⁰⁷ He continued in saying that the king and the government had walked up front in the reform process and that in the end they had been

¹⁰³ NHP, 9/12.1865. “...på det rymliga torget[...]snart sag man ett langt fackeltåg med musik och fanor i spetsen skrida framåt först öfver torget och derefter genom de förmästa gatorna. Framför hotel Mollberg stannade taget, och deltagarne begafvo sig upp på hotellets stora sal[...]”

¹⁰⁴ NHP, 9/12. 1865. “Land skall med lag byggas”. Reports were also made of celebrations which had taken place in smaller towns and villages close to Helsingborg such as Landskrona, Ängelholm and Kattarp. In Landskrona, the music corps of the local regiment marched through the streets, playing and singing patriotic songs together with the „Burghers choral society”. See ÖP, 11/12. 1865. A festivity was also held in the village Tagarp, where a dinner was organized at the local inn. See ÖP, 12/12. 14/12. 1865.

¹⁰⁵ Hunt, 1984, pp. 59-63, 123-124.

¹⁰⁶ NA, 9/12. 1865.

followed by the nation as one man..¹⁰⁸ Engelbrekt could finally be content, as his “beloved” country was once again free, united and safe. Thereafter, the “thousands” of spectators joined the speaker in “God save King and fatherland”, after which the royal anthem (folksången) was sung unanimously.¹⁰⁹

The assembly at the Englebrekt statue confirms the part played by public opinion in the reform process. Once more Engelbrekt was used as a symbol of heroic deeds in order to unite the Swedish people around an issue that was interpreted as crucial for the future of the fatherland. The “thousands” of spectators confirmed a common identity within a politically independent and modern nation. The ritual aimed at presenting a public approval of a new era.¹¹⁰

After the ratification of the reform proposal, on the 8th of December, there were few reports of celebrations in Stockholm to be found in the newspapers. Apart from the crowd of people that was honouring the ministers in front of their houses on the evening of the 7th of December, and the crowds of people gathering in inns, pubs and in the streets, there were, however, reports of a „festive representation at the Royal Theatre“ which will be analyzed in the next section which looks at closed celebrations.

Drama in a festive hall

Closed celebrations

In Helsingborg, the festivities continued in the evening with a reform party which took place in the big hall of Hotel Mollberg. The party started with a speech by the mayor in connection to his toast to His Majesty the King.¹¹¹ The mayor told the history of earlier royal attempts at a constitutional reform. Charles John XIV had never managed to the change system of government. Neither had his son, Oscar I, managed a reform, though the people had hoped

¹⁰⁸ See Kurumäki, 2000, pp. 228ff.; Smith, 1999, p. 62.; Porciani, 1997, pp. 89f.

¹⁰⁹ See Mosse, 1996, p. 1-15; Hunt, 1992.

¹¹⁰ NA, 9/12. 1865.

¹¹¹ Nilsson, 1969, pp. 252ff.; Kurumäki, 2000, pp. 228ff.: The ritual around the statue of Engelbrekt ended with a proposal from a local shopkeeper to send a telegram to the House of Nobility in Stockholm from the inhabitants of Örebro. The crowd was very positive towards the proposal and decided to send the following lines: “Mr County Marshal! Through You we ask that, to the Swedish Nobility, convey the expressions of our respect and gratefulness for the magnanimous decision, which the Nobility today have made.” ÖC, 16/12. 1865. “Herr Landtmarskalk! Genom Eder anhålla vi att till Sveriges Ridderskap och Adel få frambära uttrycken af war wördnad och tacksamhet för det högsinnade beslut. Ridderskapet och Adeln i dag fattat. Kring Engelbrekts minnesstod talrikt församlade Örebro stads innewanare.”

for a change under his rule. Hence, it had finally been for Charles XV to realize that it was possible for a king to „walk together with his people on the lawful and good way of reform, without loosing a bit of his Royal power [...], - but instead gaining the warm love and gratefulness of the entire people. “ Charles XV was described as magnanimous and noble, since he had put the welfare of the people before his own and, together, the king and his people would stand strong against foreign enemies. The king had been a noble citizen, as he had sacrificed himself for the good of the nation and the people.¹¹²

The mayor ended the speech in saying that people from all parts of the fatherland were rejoicing and hearts were “beating warmly with love for King and Fatherland”.¹¹³ The speaker pinpointed that Charles XV had given rise to a new relationship between king and people, a society where the king listened to the voice of the people and tried to fulfill the tasks of a modern constitutional king. His unselfish behaviour would strengthen this relationship.¹¹⁴

O.P Sturzenbecker was another speaker who wanted to honour the statesmen who had worked with the king during the last years. Parliamentary reform, he said, would have been difficult to obtain in a peaceful way if the cabinet of ministers had not been benevolent towards the reform proposal and towards the wishes of the people.¹¹⁵ The poem below presents the concentrated general metaphors in speeches celebrating parliamentary reform.

Yes, rejoice proudly, you Swedish man, and freely
And shed tears of joy!
See, this land you consider yours –
It has got rid of its last bond,
And the farewell evening of long memories
Turns into blissful morning.¹¹⁶

Male Swedish citizens had finally become free from the bonds of a privileged society. Yet there was a nostalgic relationship to the system of the four Estates. It was difficult to say farewell to historical memories. However, a new morning dawned which washed away historical remnants. Again, freedom was associated with light.¹¹⁷

A local estate owner (Nordin) made a short speech before proposing a toast to the new parliament. He claimed that the Swedish people had been reborn. Past military triumphs, in Lützen and Narva for example, were nothing compared to this great victory that the people

¹¹¹ See Hunt, 1984, pp. 53-60.; Vernon, 1993, pp. 48f, 107.

¹¹² ÖP, 11/12/1865; NHP, 12/12, 1865.

¹¹³ Ö-P, 11/12, 1865; NHP, 12/12, 1865.

¹¹⁴ Viroli, 1995, pp. 91-101.

¹¹⁵ Thereafter, he made a toast to Louis de Geer and his cabinet of ministers who had helped the king.

¹¹⁶ ÖP, 12/12, 1865.

¹¹⁷ See Arvidsson, 2000, pp. 78f.

themselves had achieved. The victory was won through the power of public opinion and not through violence and bloodshed, as had been the case in many other countries in Europe.¹¹⁸ Only after 1809 had the Swedes started to understand the meaning of constitutionalism and the Estates had taken the people onto the path of reform and, thereby, fulfilled their historical task.¹¹⁹ Setting 1809 as the beginning of constitutionalism was a general method in the reform rhetoric in the 1860s. This device allowed praise for as well as criticism of the existing Riksdag.¹²⁰

Nordin toasted and cheered the Estates, illustrating a historical background for each of them. The four Estates "no longer exist, they have – without a corresponding example in history – voluntarily resigned from their political power, these four Estates, which for so many centuries have made up laws for Sweden. Here were no longer any Estates, here existed now only one people and the Swedish Riksdag have, again, become what it once was: a big ravaging court (allshärjarting)." The nation had returned to the golden age also in Nordin's speech.¹²¹

A similar dinner party was organized in Örebro in the evening, in the festivity hall of the local hotel, where a great number of the town's inhabitants participated. The festivity was a closed event, as only a limited number of guests could attend indoors. Therefore, the festivity did not admit spectators. Though *Nerikes Allehanda* reported that many of the local inhabitants participated, mainly local state officials, burghers, nobility, military representatives, newspaper editors and similar dignitary persons attended the party.¹²²

One of the first speakers proposed a toast to the "noble" and "magnanimous" king to whom the Swedish people should be grateful as he, by making reform come true, had given joy and happiness to the people. Reform would lead to a bright and prosperous future for the country and surely the jubilant crowds in Sweden would reverberate, i.e. be heard all through Europe. The speech was performed with melodramatic tendencies in order to underline royal weight in the reform process. Present and future were interconnected in attendance of a bright future.¹²³

¹¹⁸ ÖP, 12/12, 1865.

¹¹⁹ NHP, 12/12, 1865.

¹²⁰ Kurunmäki, 2000, p. 199.

¹²¹ The festivity ended with a proposal from the mayor to send a telegram to His Majesty the King. "The inhabitants of Helsingborg, who gathered joyfully, present from the depth of Swedish hearts their thanks for a newborn fatherland and their congratulations to this day which, forever, will be in the memory of throne and people." NHP, 12/12, 1865.

¹²² NA, 9/12, 1865.

¹²³ Toasts were also made to the reform, to the four Estates, to Louis De Geer and the cabinet of ministers. See NA, 9/12, 1865. In Göteborg, a dinner party was organized in *Bloms salong*, a festive hall, a closed festivity. All the speeches at the dinner were followed by fanfares, cheers, shouts of joy, music and songs performed by the local sharpshooter music corps and amateur choir society. In the *Chalmerska* Artisan School, the students

In Stockholm, posters had been put up all over the city on the 7th of December, announcing a closed celebration: a performance of the play "Dagen gryr" (the Day is breaking) the following evening which was a Friday, the day when the royal family generally attended the Royal Theatre. The posters stated that the public ("allmänheten") had considered it a good opportunity to go and see the play, and at the same time honour the king. On the evening of the 8th of December, the audience entering the theatre was dressed in tuxedos. A big crowd of people also assembled in front of the theatre hall. When His Majesty the King entered the royal box, the entire audience stood up and raised cheers. The royal anthem was played by the orchestra and everybody sang.¹²⁴ The king and the people presented themselves as an entity that worked together for the fatherland, and by honouring the king in, and outside of, the theatre hall, that picture was confirmed.

Symbols

In *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, edited by August Blanche in the 1860s, a series of poems were published in connection with the decision for parliamentary reform. Some of the following lines express the general issues that were discussed within the country in that period. They alluded to concepts in the Swedish past which were constantly re-animated in order to stress certain beliefs and political needs. The poem „To the Swedish noblemen“ was published the 2nd December. Here the 2nd and 5th verses will be presented.

From where does the enemy threatens? From the East?
Or does he come from the south?
Is he let loose again, the son of the steppe.
Is the Strait already German?
No, you knight! Out there it is calm.
But inside threatens a heavy thundercloud.
Being charged since long times.
And woe, if it spread its lightning!

organized a small festivity in support of reform. The students had worked on the decorations by making a statue of king Charles XV surrounded by the Swedish and Norwegian coats of arms and banners. A concert was held in *Nya Teatern* (the New Theatre). An alternative royal anthem called the "Fatherland" was sung there, followed by cheers of joy from the audience.

¹²⁴ AB, 9/12, 1865. On the 8th of December 1865 *Aftonbladet* published telegrams which had arrived from provincial newspaper offices to express the satisfaction with reform. A telegram arrived from Filipstad describing that reform had "put the entire population in movement". The "cannonades thunder. The sharpshooter music corps are marching through the streets. Extra-ordinar joy is filling all senses. God save the king and the fatherland." Other telegrams arrived from Eskilstuna, Hudiksvall, Norway and Finland. In Oslo (Kristiania), a party was organized to celebrate reform where people from all classes in society participated. From Tornea in

The argumentation on the Russian threat in the 1860s, especially by liberals who urged the need for a politically unified Scandinavia, was a common theme. The innuendos against Germany expressed sympathy with Denmark. However, the poem then claimed that there were more serious threats than foreign ones: the fear of an inner thunder and lightning. If the four Estates would not ratify the reform proposal, then an enormous thunderstorm would break out. The metaphor of a tempest was used in order to express the collapse of an old order in favour of something new.

Now is no longer only the nobleman an interpreter
 For the trimming up and care of the nation?
 By his side has now arisen a people,
 Whose sons compete with his!
 Now appears the noble working family
 And demand its respect, demand its rights
 To take part in the struggle
 For freedom, light and peace!¹²⁵

In the verse above, the people were construed as the main actor in the coming democratic society. A noble family at work defined the aspect of equality. This indicated that class differences were to disappear. The metaphor, however, defined a contemporary patriarchal and bourgeois family that still subordinated women to men.

The poem „Sweden rejoices“ was published in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning* immediately after ratification of reform. It expressed feelings of relief, freedom and hope.

Now away with envy, discord and rancour,
 Now stream proudly, you yellow and blue flag,
 And bring our name across the seas!
 The old wreath of Swedish honour
 Has regained its golden lustre,
 Even though deeply buried in earth.
 Europe recognize us again,
 Since centuries of forgetfulness have fled!¹²⁶

The idea of the possibility for Sweden to become a European great power, just as it had been some centuries ago, was re-animated in this poem. The new Swedish nation, born out of parliamentary reform, should proudly walk with its flag. In that way, Sweden would draw

Finland, a telegram arrived to say that its inhabitants had made a toast to King Charles XV and the Swedish people. See AB, 8/12, 1865.

¹²⁵ NYT, 2/12, 1865.

¹²⁶ NYT, 16/12, 1865. The resemblance with the words in *Du gamla, du fria*, the national anthem, is striking in the last four lines of the poem. "We know that you are and will remain what you were".

attention to its existence and its weight in Europe. Sweden should be a peaceful nation among other free, peaceful and democratic European nations.¹²⁷

Fäderneslandet wrote from the same point of view as August Blanche. It reported that the parliamentary reform had attracted attention in other countries. Swedish reform was considered to have a certain impact on the „friends of constitutional freedom in Europe“. The paper did, however, point out that notwithstanding this great step towards democratization there were still improvements to be made in the Swedish constitution. *Fäderneslandet* believed that Sweden, "after having taken this first and big step on the path of reforms, shall not stop there, but gradually, when the need manifests itself, calmly develop, more and more, into a truly free state."¹²⁸ *Fäderneslandet* thus distinguished itself from other newspapers as it considered parliamentary reform as only a first step towards political freedom within the nation.

A Special Festivity in Honour of August Blanche

In connection with the celebrations that took place all over the country after the victory of the reform proposal, a group of politicians and newspaper editors in Stockholm organized a party in honour of August Blanche.¹²⁹ The organizers reported that they had invited the "great newspaper editor and prominent reform fighter" Mr. Blanche, in order to honour his persistent efforts to argue for and struggle in favour of reform.¹³⁰ Blanche had been a hero of the fatherland in the eyes of reform friends, a modern Engelbrekt.

At the party, a lot of toasts were proposed and speeches made. The editor of *Aftonbladet*, August Sohlman, stressed the difficult task Mr. Blanche had had in convincing public opinion about reform in the foregoing years. "It is difficult, when before yourself you have a building, which is about to fall apart, but in which some of the tenants, who by habit like to live there, insist on staying there, and want to live in the building without paying rent. What can you do then? Nothing else than with a careful and steady hand [...] – start to tear down the house, but making sure, that no log may fall down on the head of the tenants."¹³¹

Sohlman continued to use the metaphor of a building which needs to be torn down, piece by piece, in order to make the tenants conscious of the "light" and the changing world outside. "[...] when the tenants finally have the heaven of God as their roof, then shall they breathe

¹²⁷ See Kurunmäki, 2000, pp. 221-225.

¹²⁸ Fäd. 20/12. 1865.

¹²⁹ The festivity took place at Börsen in Stockholm on the evening of the 21 December 1865.

¹³⁰ NA. 23/12. 1865.

¹³¹ NA. 23/12. 1865.

more freely, feel a well-being they had not experienced before and say: Thank God, that we got fresh air!"¹³² The speech was followed by everybody singing "My fatherland! How with pleasure I sacrifice my life for you."¹³³ August Sohlman was the commander of the Stockholm sharpshooter association. Therefore, patriotic songs and language had a special military and male quality on the evening in honour of August Blanche.

The evening continued with many other speeches, toasts and songs. The report in *Nerikes Allehanda* ended by saying that the paper believed that the entire Swedish press could participate in honouring the great man, August Blanche. "Honour to him is honour to the press, and an acknowledgement for the press is more pleasant, when it is rare."¹³⁴

Concluding the chapter

This chapter has dealt with the different opinions on parliamentary reform which were expressed in the months just before the final decision on the reform proposal, and shortly after this decision. By looking more closely at the newspaper articles on reform, I have tried to trace an existing rhetorical pattern which was adopted in order to convince the Estates and people in general about the need for reform. In addition, the description of the various festivals, meetings and reform celebrations described the manifestations of public opinion. The main liberal opinion expressed after the sanction of the reform proposal was that the people had won a great victory by means of reform. One can distinguish four characteristics in the rhetoric on parliamentary reform in 1865.

First, the 1809 revolution was considered as the beginning of the process for gaining political freedom. Parliamentary reform in 1865 became, therefore, the vehicle for bringing the nation into the modernized future which would take shape in nineteenth century. Past, present and future were also connected rhetorically in the call for a new great power era for Sweden as a consequence of parliamentary reform.

Second, in newspapers and celebrations, reform supporters claimed that the nation had become *one*, and that this nation united itself as a *man*. The reformed electorate consisted of male citizens who had struggled together in order to gain a reform. These male citizens were then to be prepared to sacrifice themselves for the good of the fatherland in the future. As a

¹³² NA. 23/12. 1865. Gud ske lof, att man fick frisk luft!

¹³³ Mitt Fosterland! Hur gärna mitt lif jag offrar dig.

consequence, the nobility was also allowed into the patriotic group, since this Estate had sacrificed its own interest in accepting reform. Patriotism was another of the key concepts in the reform rhetoric. Virtuous citizens were the same as true patriots who did not hesitate to sacrifice themselves for the nation when it was needed, even on the battlefield.

Third, metaphors such as rebirth, brightness, an awakening or the aurora, i.e. the breaking of a new day for the nation, dominated rhetoric. Such metaphors carried the heritage of the French Revolution. *Fäderneslandet* specifically wrote in a language full of revolutionary influences. In fact, they described the Swedish nation as a goddess who carried the message of „*Unity, brotherhood and reconciliation*“.

Fourth, reform festivities, as well as the festive rituals in the other empirical chapters, were urban dramas that were staged and performed in the streets in order to involve and convince the public on political issues. The speakers at a dinner party or in a festival thus became actors who recited for or spoke to fellow participants and the general public. In the speeches, they told a story about the societal context of the period in referring to a common recollected past, which then served as a base for predicting the future.

¹³⁴ NA. 23/12. 1865.

X. Conclusion

This dissertation has investigated the *ways in which rhetoric and rituals were used in a political context in Sweden in the 1860s*. In particular, the study has concentrated on the issue of *how rituals and language were used in the political context of parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union from 1859 to 1865*. I have been focusing on the possible connection between *the general domestic context, the international political situation* and the organization of political rituals constructed around *an event or a heroic personality*. The empirical case studies have, therefore, been focusing on the performance of rituals and festivities, as well as on the event or character around which they were organized. The rhetoric and symbolic language of these performances were investigated in order to analyze whether there existed a general narrative pattern in the argumentation in favour of parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union.

The sources used have been mainly the newspapers of the period. This study has therefore a rather structural approach, as I have concentrated on the press language itself, rather than on the authors behind the published articles, poems and songs. I did not look for a true motive behind the articles. It is, in my opinion, possible to find a political language in the analyzed text without having to go beyond the text to look at the motives of the author.

The intention for this thesis has been to describe and analyze the ways in which politics and culture intermingled in Sweden in the 1860s. The study starts in 1859/60 as those two years experienced an intensification of the pro-reform and pro-union movements. The decisive turn on the issues of reform and union was the result of three political occurrences in 1859: the *stattholder* conflict with Norway, the Bill in favour of Italian independence, and the reanimation of the reform question at the Riksdag. Thus, in 1860, festivities, processions and other political meetings became a common practice, starting with the Garibaldi movement. Festivities, processions, dinners and balls became excellent opportunities for the expression of political messages and opinions on Scandinavian union and parliamentary reform. Rituals of this sort had, of course, existed also before, and especially so in the context of the Scandinavian Student Movement in the 1840s and 1850s. There were, however, a considerable increase in frequency from 1860 to 1865 which I believe was a result of the intensified propaganda of the liberal movement for parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union.

Narrative

The symbolic language and the rituals have been analyzed from a political point of view. I consider the articles, poems, songs and rituals as vehicles for expression and creation of a narrative in favour of political reforms. This narrative was the story the liberal movement used to convince public opinion on its political ideas and plans. Such a narrative has an instable structure, with exchanges and relationships between different or competing narratives. The case studies have shown that the pro-union and pro-reform narratives interrelated with other narratives and stories from a distant, as well as, a recent past. The intertextuality was not only national. The pro-union and pro-reform narratives developed with references to, for example, the narrative on Italy and Garibaldi.

In the reform narratives both the recent past and the distant past were used. In the first case, I have used the concept of retention for describing the use of a recent past, and in the second case the concept of recollection. The recent past which was re-enacted in the Garibaldi festivals set up a story about a fair, brave and patriotic man who fought with, and for, the people in Sicily and the south of Italy in order to promote freedom and independence from oppressive regimes. In a Swedish context, Garibaldi was also presented as a patriotic and brave warrior who fought with the common people against injustices and oppressive powers. However, when put in a context of nation and religion, he became a popular hero on the Lutheran-Evangelical side against Catholicism.

The recent past of the revolution in 1809 was used as a point of reference for the parliamentary reform movement. 1809 had given birth to hopes of a democratic society with a liberal parliament without the Estates. Even though the idea of parliamentarism was there in 1809, the Estates had managed to conserve their powers. The reform proposal presented before the *Riksdag* in 1863 was therefore seen as the legitimate continuance of the democratic hopes that had been started, but not fulfilled, in 1809.

The remote past, recollection, was used especially in the Engelbrekt festival. Engelbrekt had been revolting against the king of the Nordic union in the fifteenth century, without greater success. In nineteenth century Sweden, he was, however, imagined as a hero of democracy and freedom who came to stand as model for parliamentary reform and, to a certain extent, Scandinavian union. The present imagination of Engelbrekt in nineteenth century Sweden was one of a hero who had managed to unite the people in struggle against misery and serfdom due to foreign dominion. He had created a united people which had awakened, or had been reborn, after having defeated the oppressive foreign power. This re-

imagination of the past became an important part of the pro-reform narrative in order to forecast the future.

The progressive side of the narratives makes „space“ for changes in society. Indeed, the pro-reform narrative was constantly moving forward by means of intertextuality between many different narratives. The Garibaldi movement was a starting point and, then, the narrative developed over the Poltava movement, the Union Day celebrations and the story about Engelbrekt. The pro-union and pro-parliamentary reform narratives used constantly the same symbols and metaphors. The narratives grew stronger by interrelating with each other. However, the union narrative lost its momentum in 1863/64, while the reform narrative progressed and experienced success in 1865. The defeat of the narrative on a Scandinavian union was mainly a result of international political circumstances which made ideas on a Scandinavian union too utopian.

The plot structure of a narrative is important in order to understand the creation and structural presentation of the narrative. The division of stories, as outlined by Hayden White, has to a certain extent been useful for my analysis of the narratives in the Swedish 1860s. Following the narrative on a Scandinavian union, I would say that it was emplotted as a tragedy. The narrative had a tendency of conviction on the agreement of a coming military alliance between Sweden-Norway and Denmark in 1863. Such an alliance was considered to be a first step to the consolidation of an all-Nordic union. At the peak of the efforts of the pro-union movement, the deliberations on a military alliance however failed, and the reality of a Scandinavian union grew dim. The pro-reform narrative, on the other hand, had the plot of a comedy. It did certainly not start in a complete chaos, but the narrative had difficulties to be convincing on conservative anti-reform groups. The possibilities to evade the Estates were insecure until November 1865. A comic plot structure, in fact, experiences a myriad of confusing situations and problems until the happy end which, in this case, meant the ratification of a reform bill in December 1865.

At the same time, there also existed a plot of *romance* in the different narratives. The texts in the Garibaldi narrative frequently used metaphors that were talking about the victory of good over evil, of light over darkness. This was also the case in the Poltava narrative where it was underlined that Sweden had conserved its freedom and self-respect, even though it suffered a major territorial defeat against Russia. Thus, for Sweden the major defeat in 1709 was constructed as a victory of virtue over vice, as well as of light over darkness. Russia had not managed to put Sweden under its tyrant empire. In the two narratives above, the religious aspect of protestant hostility towards Catholicism was evident.

Performance

The analysis of rituals was founded on four case studies: the Garibaldi movement in 1860, the Poltava movement in 1862, the Union Day celebrations in 1864, and the movement for parliamentary reform in 1865. The rituals in the four case studies mainly followed a similar pattern of organization and performance. I have used the word "performance" when talking about the rituals and festivities, as these were dramatic performances in the streets in which the spectators played the part of an audience. The processions, the speeches, the songs and the patriotic music were in need of an audience that could receive the transmitted messages as a nation. The political messages focused on political changes such as parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union. The formal pattern of these rituals delivered a common base for enwrapping the pro-reform and pro-union narratives in a convincing package.

Ritual

The analyzed festivities usually started with a procession. I did identify four different alternatives for the performance of a procession. A first option was that the participants gathered in the main square of the town in order to start a march along the streets. This was the case in the procession at both the Garibaldi festival and the Parliamentary reform festivity in Helsingborg. A second option was that the procession started somewhere else in order to march towards the central square of the town, such as at the Poltava festivity in Örebro. A third option was the general governmental sanctioned performance at the Union Day festivities in 1864 in which the celebrations started in the early morning with gun-salutes and songs, after which local authorities, and other participants, formed a procession to march from the state hall to a church where a morning service was held. A fourth option was that the procession marched along the streets of the town and then ended up in front of a statue, where the participants and the audience together sang and made speeches. This was the case at the reform festivities in Örebro in 1865 where the procession ended in front of the Engelbrekt statue. This last alternative resembled with the rituals of the French Revolution. To perform a ritual around a statue was a way to swear faithfulness to the nation and to confirm its legitimacy.

The structure of the festivities was very similar in all the case studies, and this structure confirmed the origin in the cultural pattern of the Scandinavian Student Movement, which in its turn, of course, was inspired by the culture of the French Revolution. The political content of the French Revolution was new but the structural patterns were, in their turn, modelled on those of the Old Regime, and on the cultures of Ancient Greece and Rome.

Elements such as music, songs, speeches, cheers and dinners were common at all the festivities in the case studies. At the Garibaldi festival in 1862, the carrying of a bust of Garibaldi at the head of the procession was a particular element which enhanced the similarities with more revolutionary festivities in late eighteenth century France and Argentina. Such a procedure confirmed the presence of patriotic ideas to defend and/or struggle for the development of the fatherland.

Dinner parties and balls were other methods for performing a celebration. While the procession in the street was an open celebration in which the general public could participate or watch, the dinner parties and balls were closed celebrations. In fact, the analysis of the rituals in the different case studies has been structured into categories of *open* and *closed* celebrations. Closed festivities were limited in the sense that they were organized indoors in a hall or theatre which highly reduced the number of possible participants. The participants were invited personally by the organizers or through a general invitation in the local newspaper. The latter was the case on, for instance, the Garibaldi-soirée in Göteborg and the Union Day party in *Bern's salon* in Stockholm.

In almost all the case studies, the festivities opened with some sort of procession where the general public could participate, either as a marching member of a corporation, or as a spectator along the streets. After the procession, public speeches were performed either in the main square or in front of an important statue in a strategic spot of the town. The festive day continued thereafter with more closed celebrations, such as dinner parties or balls in the town hall or in some hotel. In order to close the circle, the celebration often ended with yet another public and colourful event outdoors, such as fireworks, illumination of streets and buildings or patriotic musical entertainment in the streets.

Dramatic tensions

I consider the street festivities, as well as the more closed dinner parties and meetings, as dramas where political opinions and ideas can be performed and acted out. The street is thus a sort of public arena where the people can participate in, or follow, a social civic drama. Festival and rituals are used in order to revive a distant past and put it in contact with the present situation. The time borders between past, present and future are very vague and intermingle with each other. Festivals and processions belong to the world of imagination, as I argued in the Engelbrekt-chapter, and they are the expression of a "desire" for the development of a social future. The reanimation of the past in a festival is thus an "imagined

reality". It is, therefore, important to explicitly stress the difference between "historical time" and time aspects in a festival.¹

The main aspect of dramatic tension was the modes of performances within the different festivities: how the participants performed or acted out a speech, a song or a procession. Performative and dramatic tensions were crucial both in the recited texts themselves and in the way the participant used recital skills, dresses, and decorations in order to appear convincing before the audience. The procession in itself was of course an interesting and appealing event when it marched through the streets of a town. Additional attractions were corporations and associations carrying banners or torch-lights.

The decorations of a festive hall were highly symbolic and had dramatic value for the organized festivity. At the Poltava Festival in Stockholm in 1862, the decorations of *Cirkus*, surrounded by the Swedish, Finnish, and Italian, Polish, and Hungarian banners, communicated that Sweden supported nations that were, or had been, fighting for freedom and independence from oppressive regimes. Swedish liberals clearly expressed support to those nations, Finland and Poland, who currently were enslaved and oppressed by Russian despotism. At the Reform festivity at hotel Mollberg in Helsingborg 1865, the decoration with a bust of Charles XV and his motto "Land shall be built with law" communicated to the audience that the king had been acting in favour of the fatherland by granting a lawful reform rather than securing ancient privileges.

The speeches were the field where the organizers mostly could influence the public by means of recital skills. The speaker grasped the ambience of the present for describing the past. In that way, a distant past could be reanimated in the present time of the festivity and appear as crucial for the audience. At the Poltava festival in Stockholm in 1862, August Sohlman had dressed up in his sharpshooter uniform when delivering a speech in honour of Charles XII. In this way, he managed to introduce the sharpshooter movement from the nineteenth century national context to the deeds of the Swedish army at Poltava. The melodramatic tension got even stronger when the speaker talked about Charles XII with eyes full of tears. August Sohlman intermingled past and present in both directions in order to underline the male and patriotic spirit of Charles XII, and the role of the sharpshooters in a contemporary context.

A speech could also be made as a direct comparison between the present and a glorious past. This was the case in a speech held where the speaker made a comparison between the victory of parliamentary reform and the war victories on the battlefields during

¹ Ozouf, M., „The Festival in the French Revolution“, in *Histories. French Constructions of the Past*, edited by

the era when Sweden was a great power. A third model of speech was one delivered by the circuit judge at the Poltava festival in Örebro in 1862. The reason for a speech, in this case the handing over of a banner from supporting women to the local sharpshooter movement, governed the melodramatic staging of the speech. In the end, the speaker even created a dialogue with the audience within the speech thus he created an interactive speech with the aim to involve the spectators into the nation.

Symbolic themes

In each empirical case study, the texts have been analyzed from a symbolic point of view, with a division in symbolic themes. Chapter five, on the Garibaldi movement, set a certain standard for existing themes, which I have found to be recurrent in the following case studies. The chapter introduced the following themes: *nature, religious metaphors, and Garibaldi, a warrior and hero of the fatherland*. These themes slightly varied in the other case studies, but it can be said that nature, religion and patriotism were three basic thematic concepts in festivals.

In the symbols of *nature*, light was associated with freedom and liberty, while darkness was associated with despotism and oppression of liberty. Dichotomies were constantly used in order to define the great difference between liberty and despotism. Freedom has furthermore been pictured as "sprouts" shooting up from the ground. Abstract concepts were incarnated, or personified, for instance, on a description of a time that *fled on bloodstained wings*. The nation was seen as a body that suffered from diseases or wounds, when freedom and independence were oppressed. The nation was, furthermore, pictured as a female image, or a mother, in order to communicate traits such as stability and eternity of the nation.

The sea was used to stress the strength of liberty, while the oak symbolized the strength and solidity of the union.. Metaphors of thunderstorms and natural disasters, such as volcanic eruptions, were other devices. In the Italian context, such metaphors were used to describe that the air was cleaned from the "toxic" Despotism. Such metaphors were also adopted to refer to the political "tension" that existed in Europe in the 1860s. Revolutionary uprisings were considered to be close in time.

In the theme of *religious* symbols, I have shown that Garibaldi constantly was compared to Christ. The dichotomy of light versus darkness also had a religious connotation as it referred to the Christian conception of the struggle of good versus evil in the world. The

pagan tradition did also appear in language. Garibaldi was compared with the Greek, Roman or Aesir gods in order to emphasize his strength, courage and bravery, and also the Swedish king Charles XIV John entered the world of pagan divinity.

Religion referred to the Lutheran-Evangelic faith which was associated with the Swedish national identity. This national identity went back to the period when the Swedish great power was established in the late sixteenth century. Charles XII was presented as the great hero who, alone, with his "sword and bible" fought for his fatherland. Thus national politics and Lutheran faith merged. The religious metaphors and hymns that were used in the pro-union and pro-reform narratives were referring back to the Swedish period as a great power. The period when Gustavus Adolphus ruled was a landmark for the liberal metaphors. Religion was present also in the sense that the papers talked about sacrifice on "the altar" of the fatherland.

In the theme of *Garibaldi as a warrior and hero of the fatherland*, I show that the image of Garibaldi was created both by the Italian hero himself, as well as by the contemporary authors who wrote biographies on him. All the patriotic virtues were there – Garibaldi was the wise and brave warrior fighting for the fatherland, the greatest of soldiers, courageous and altruistic. In a Swedish context, he was compared to past national heroes and warriors such as Engelbrekt, Gustavus Wasa and Gustavus Adolphus. Similar traits were used to stress the greatness and manliness of Charles XII. Patriotism and male virtues were closely linked. A true male citizen would sacrifice himself for the benefit of the fatherland, on the military battlefield, as well as on the political one. The sharpshooter movement described itself in exactly these terms.

Other metaphorical themes in the chapters have been *fiction and drama*. The structure of a fairy tale was used to tell a story on the fifty years of union between Sweden and Norway. Within this fairy tale, a certain narrative tension was created. This fairy tale can be seen as a normal, innocuous, story about the creation of the Union, but, on the other hand, the ironic undertones were clear, as one paper, with this fairy tale, wanted to promote a political democratization in Sweden.

The metaphor of a marriage was often used in the speeches during the Union Day festivities to underline the solidity and strength of the Union. In a period when the Union had suffered some major crisis, it was important to present it as a necessity in time. Another alternative was to tell a story about an ancient past when the two nations had been „naturally” united. References to ancient statutory letters were a method to convince public opinion on the need for a union between Sweden and Norway also in the future.

A theme with metaphors referring to the cultural pattern of the French Revolution was present mostly in the Garibaldi- and Parliamentary reform movements. The rituals, as well as the symbolic language, were influenced by the cultural tradition of the French Revolution. The radical paper *Fäderneslandet* referred directly to the radical European ideas of the period. This radical language pinpointed a break with the past which did not only fit well with the Garibaldi movement, but also with the mobilization for parliamentary reform. In the latter case, there was, however, a certain tension in the radical language, since the awaited reform was seen as also in continuity with previous reforms.

Politics

The relationship between external and internal political affairs did exist in the 1860s. Garibaldi and Poltava movements were proof of that. The movements were urging liberation and independence for Italy and Poland and using these concepts in a national political context. Liberation and independence in Sweden meant parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union.

The question of an all-Nordic union was much debated in the Garibaldi and Poltava movements as well as in the Union Day celebrations. In 1863 the plans for a Scandinavian union suffered a defeat due to the unwillingness of the cabinet to accept a military alliance with Denmark. The issue of union was still present in the rhetorical debate during the Union Day festivities in 1864. The pro-union rhetoric was, however, vague in order to make possible many and diverse interpretations. Pro-union metaphors could thus be understood either as stressing the need for a closer relationship between Sweden and Norway in the already existing union. It could also be interpreted as argumentation in favour of an all-Nordic union.

The pro-union and pro-reform rhetoric was thus intensively promoted in the Garibaldi and Poltava movements as well as in the Union Day celebrations. In the Reform movement, the presence of pro-union argumentation was minimal even though not inexistent. Concrete governmental support for union was lacking after 1864 and therefore the pro-union campaign faded away.

The sharpshooter movement was an important factor in the pro-union and pro-reform campaigns and in their organization. The movement was founded in 1860 after inspiration from Swiss and Italian people's armies which were to be an alternative to the national armies. In almost every procession, festivity, and other meeting, the sharpshooter corps were present as organizers or as providers of music and songs. The sharpshooters communicated an idea about the possibility for an alternative national defence. The sharpshooters furthermore communicated the importance for every citizen to participate in national political affairs. A sharpshooter was a citizen who had understood the importance of political freedom for the people. He was a male citizen who was brave, strong and ready to sacrifice himself for his fatherland. Sacrifice was to be understood in the context of defending the fatherland against foreign attacks. The sharpshooters were thus fighting for liberty from tyrant foreign great powers as well as democratic freedom from the "straitjacket" of the four Estates.

The general trend throughout the 1860s was thus to use national and international political events and affairs in order to promote for parliamentary reform and Scandinavian union. The French cultural tradition was dominating both in ritual practice as well as in the symbolic language itself. The cultural tradition of the Scandinavian Student Movement was also an important base for the liberal movement in the 1860s. The French revolutionary tradition was furthermore mixed with the Swedish monarch tradition. The mix resulted in a successful narrative where pro-reform argumentation progressed and took place. Pro-union argumentation was successful until 1864 when it suffered a defeat and thus had to pave way for reform.

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Biography

Almqvist, Ludvig Teodor, - was born in Grenna in 1818. In 1846, he was appointed assessor in Svea Court of Justice (hovrätt), auditor (revisionssekreterare) in 1848, and in 1853 he became circuit judge. Thereafter, he was appointed Minister of Civil Justice in 1856, president of Svea Court of Justice in 1867, member of the Supreme Court (högsta domstolen) in 1870 and, in 1879, he became Minister of Justice under prime minister De Geer.¹

Blixen-Finecke, Karl Fredrik Axel Bror, - was born in Dallund (Fyen) in 1822. During the first German-Danish war in 1848, he fought as head of a unit of voluntary mansion officials („herregårdsskyttar“). In 1857, he wrote the pamphlet *Skandinavismen praktisk* where he elaborated his ideas of a united monarchy as a solution to a future union. Each of the Scandinavian countries should conserve their national constitutions and laws and only need to do those minor changes that would be required for the implementation of a union treaty.² In 1858 he was elected as representative (liberal) in the Danish parliament, *Folketinget*, and further on in 1859-1860 he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of the Duchy Holstein.

In 1861, he was one of the founding fathers of *Dannevirkeførelsen* (the Dannevirke association), that aimed at facilitating contacts between Sønderjylland and the rest of the Danish kingdom. During his political career in the early 1860s, he was constantly taking active part in the opposition against prime minister Hall and his cabinet. After 1864, Blixen-Finecke distanced himself from the world of politics.³

Dickson, James, - was born in Göteborg in 1815. Dickson started working together with his father in 1833 in the family business where he stayed until 1837 when he went to London. In 1847 he returned to Göteborg to continue his work as a business man and in 1858 he took over the chairmanship of his father's company. Dickson helped out to sponsor and build homes for old people, schools, hospitals etc. Furthermore, he was the chairman, or member, of many local associations and committees.⁴

¹ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/a0024.html>

² Blixen-Finecke, 1857, p. 7.

³ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/nfab/0350/html>

⁴ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/dicksjan.html>

Dickson, Oskar, - was born in Göteborg in 1823. Oskar was the little brother of James. Oskar got his education at the business school in Göteborg and in Lübeck before he started working in the family company James Dickson & C. in 1841. In 1846 he went over to work at Dickson Brothers & C. which was another branch of the family owned companies. In 1847, he became responsible for the family estates in the county of Norrland and did not return to Göteborg again until 1855. In 1880, he was knighted. He was furthermore member of the committee for the Scandinavian Exposition in Stockholm in 1866, the committee for the Paris Expedition in 1867 and honorary member of the Physiographic Society in Lund in 1875. Regarding political matters, it has been argued that Oskar Dickson was the one who managed to convince king Charles XV about the fact that public opinion was demanding a parliamentary reform. Oskar Dickson was also the organizer of those pro-reform deputations which were sent from the town Göteborg and its surrounding provinces to Stockholm and Prime Minister De Geer.⁵

Gripenstedt, Johan August, - was born in Holstein in 1814. In the beginning he wanted to make a career as civil state official, but then he changed his mind and entered Karlberg in 1828 to pursue a military career. In 1846, however, he put the military profession behind in order to become a politician in the Nobility Estate. Between 1846 and 1856 he was member of different committees and part of the state council under King Oscar I (1848). In 1856, he became Minister of Finance.

He was one of the great liberals in those years and worked hard in favour of reforms within the field of commerce and trading. Thanks to Gripenstedt the principles of free trade were introduced and many of the restrictive customs laws regarding import and export were abolished. He was a great supporter of parliamentary reform. Furthermore, he has been considered as one of the most important ministers within the cabinet working under Prime Minister De Geer. He strongly opposed, and put an end to, Charles XV and his ideas of a military alliance with Denmark in 1863.⁶

Gumælius, Gustaf Wilhelm, - was born in Lids socken in Södermanland in 1789. He was known as a poet, priest, and member of the Riksdag. In 1832, he received his priestly Investiture and started out as vicar in Viby and Tängersåsa parishes in the county of Närke. In 1853, Gumælius was appointed priest of the contract in Örebro. Furthermore, he

⁵ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/dicksosk.html>

⁶ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/a0405.html>

was member of the Clergy from 1840-1866 and thereafter a representative of the town Örebro in the Second Chamber from 1867 to 1869. He was part of the Clergy's liberal minority and was thus very much in favour of parliamentary reform.⁷

Gumælius, Karl Arvid, - was born in Örebro in 1833. He was the nephew of Gustaf Wilhelm. In 1854, Gumælius entered the state telegraph company and in 1856 he got the position as telegraph operator in Örebro. Just as his uncle, Karl Arvid was very interested in local political and social issues. In 1857, he became the editor of *Nerikes Allehanda* which had a prominent radical position within the national newspaper press. He was known as an energetic and active discussant who very much struggled for his opinions and often managed to reach a successful outcome. Furthermore, he was a representative for the town Örebro in the Second Chamber (a post where he succeeded his uncle) from 1869 until 1890. In parliament he pursued his liberal (*frisinnade*) opinions.⁸

Hamilton, Henning Ludvig Hugo, - was born in Stockholm in 1814. He was a state official. Hamilton started out with a military career within the artillery thus attending the military secondary school at Marieberg from 1832 to 1835. In that year he was promoted to lieutenant within the artillery, however, he resigned the year after. He worked as a teacher at different military schools and, in 1839, he was elected lieutenant in the topographic military unit. Within the topographic unit he was further promoted to captain in 1845, to major and head of unit in 1847, and finally head lieutenant in the army in 1850.⁹ At the same time, Hamilton pursued a civil career where he in 1846 became a member of the committee working for a parliamentary reform proposal. Furthermore, he was appointed Court Marshal in 1848 (a position he conserved until 1858) and circuit judge of Östergötland in 1852. In 1858, he became a statesman and the following year he was also appointed as Head of the Ministry for Ecclesiastic Affairs from which he resigned in 1860. In 1861, he became a foreign ambassador in Copenhagen and during the following German-Danish conflict he supported Charles XV's wishes for a Scandinavian military alliance. Further on in the reform debate, he was clearly argumenting against the reform proposal which was presented by Louis De Geer.¹⁰

⁷ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/a0410.html>

⁸ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/a0411.html>

⁹ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/a0451.html>

¹⁰ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/a0452.html>

Hazelius, Johan August, - was born in 1797. He was a military official, editor, and member of the Riksdag. Hazelius started his military education at Karlberg in 1810 where he continually was promoted from lieutenant (1821), to captain (1829), to major (1836), to lieutenant colonel in the army (1843), to colonel in 1850 and aide-de-camp to king Oscar I. Thereafter, he was also responsible for parts of the military courses at the secondary school for military officials in Marieberg. However, in 1850 he resigned from the military career and became editor of the conservative newspaper Svenska Tidningen, which also supported the liberal trends.¹¹

Hedlund, Sven Adolf, - was born in 1821. After the university studies in the 1840s he wrote for the newspaper *Dagligt Allehanda* in Stockholm and for a short period he was editor of *Örebro Tidning*. In 1851, he started working at *Aftonbladet* for a year before he, in 1852, became the editor of the newspaper *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts Tidning*.

Hedlund was a strong supporter of parliamentary reform. From 1866 to 1875 and from 1879 to 1883 he was a representative for Göteborg in the Second Chamber where he in the first period was very much supporting the cabinet led by De Geer. During the short period 1875-1876 he was elected as representative for Göteborg to the First Chamber where he started to sympathize with *Landtmannapartiet* which opinions he before had been opposing.¹²

Nordström, Johan Jakob, - was born in Åbo in Finland in 1802. He was a university lecturer and politician. Nordström started studying law at Åbo University where he took his Bachelor degree in 1826 and, thereafter, started as auscultator in Åbo Court of Justice. In 1827, the university moved to Helsingfors and Nordström thus followed and started teaching different courses in law and economy. In 1834, he was appointed professor in the fields of state law and national economy in which he also gained a doctors degree in 1840. After having had difficulties with the authorities due to his firm beliefs and convictions regarding state law and justice, he decided to move to Sweden in 1846. In that same year, he was appointed director-general of the central board for national antiquities (riksarkivarie) in Stockholm, in 1847 he became the secretary of the committee which worked for a revision of the university statutes. Further on in 1853, he became a member and representative of the Clergy Estate in the Riksdag in which position he remained until 1863. He was further elected

¹¹ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/nfaf/0435.html>

¹² <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/a0478.html>

a representative in the First Chamber from 1867 until 1874 where he mainly pursued his rather conservative opinions.¹³

Qvanten, Emil von, - was born in Björneborg in Finland in 1827. Due to poor health he abandoned his academic studies and started a travel around the world with destinations such as South Africa and the East Indies before he returned to Europe. In 1857, he returned to Stockholm and became a member of the Nobility Estate as representative of his family. In 1864, he was taken on as Charles XV's librarian. At the same time he actively wrote political articles in the Stockholm newspapers and he continually stressed the opinions that Finland should be liberated from Russia. Furthermore, he also expressed the idea that Sweden and Finland should enter a federal union state with a common federal parliament.¹⁴

Ridderstad, Carl Fredrik, - was born in 1807. Ridderstad was an editor, poet and a writer. He started out with a military career attending Karlberg (a military academy) but as he was promoted to lieutenant he abandoned the military services in 1840. By that time, he was already well known as a poet and writer after having published some stories and poems. In 1840, he started out as book editor in Norrtälje where he also started editing the newspaper *Tidning för Stockholms län*, together with O.P Sturzen-Becker. The newspaper was fairly liberal. By the end of 1840, Ridderstad moved to Linköping where he started cooperating with H.P Palmaer who had started editing *Östgöta-Correspondenten*. Very soon, Ridderstad took over the editing of *Östgöta-Correspondenten* and continued doing so for many years, that is, until 1886. In the beginning, the newspaper was very liberal in its political approach but with the years it became more and more conservative. Ridderstad made *Östgöta-Correspondenten* into one of the most important and read press organs on the countryside.

Furthermore, Ridderstad was member of the Nobility Estate in the Riksdag from 1844 to 1850 and in the Riksdag of 1859-60 he was the representative of the town Linköping in the Burghers' Estate. After the implementation of parliamentary reform, he was elected as a representative of Linköping in the Second Chamber from 1867 to 1869. Being very much in favour of a people's arming, he became the commander of Linköping voluntary sharpshooter corps in 1861.¹⁵

¹³ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/b0211.html>

¹⁴ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/b0309.html>

¹⁵ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/b0345.html>

Rydberg, Abraham Viktor, - was born in Jönköping in 1828. Rydberg is known as having been a great writer and poet, editor, philosophe and a well-known cultural person in general. He was from a poor family but managed to pursue his studies anyway, first in Jönköping and Växjö, and then at the university in Lund. In the 1850s, in order to earn his living, he wrote articles and short stories for *Jönköpingsbladet* and *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts Tidning*. Rydberg had a very good relationship to the editor of *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts Tidning* in those years, S.A Hedlund, who made him responsible of the foreign news. In 1870-1872, he was elected as representative of Göteborg to the Second Chamber and there he mainly supported the opinions of *Landtmannapartiet*. In general he was a liberal (*frisinnad*).¹⁶

Sohlman, Per August Ferdinand, - born in the county of Närke in 1824. In 1849, he started the weekly journal *Bore* together with some friends but when the newspaper was bought by the conservative *Svenska Tidningen* in 1851 Sohlman resigned and went to *Aftonbladet*. In 1857, he became the chief editor of *Aftonbladet*. Sohlman was in favour of parliamentary reform, free trade, Scandinavian union, and was part of the radical Scandinavian group in Stockholm in the 1860s. Already in the 1840s, he had been a fervent supporter and participant in the Scandinavian student movement and in 1848 he participated as a volunteer in the German-Danish conflict on the Danish side.¹⁷

Sturzen-Becker, Oscar Patrick, - was born in Stockholm in 1811. He was known as a poet (Orvar Odd). In the early 1830s, Sturzen-Becker started his career as a writer by publishing a small literary newspaper called *Arlekin*. However, it did not last very long and in 1834 he started writing for *Aftonbladet* where he mainly contributed with short stories about what had happened lately. In the beginning of the 1840s, after a journey to Germany and France, his literary career took off. Due to a lot of critique of some of his writings and a need to get away from the capital for a while, he went to the south of Sweden and then to Copenhagen. There he got in contact with the radical groups who were part of the Scandinavian movement. During 1844-47 while he was living in Copenhagen, he took active part in the political discussion and wrote a lot of articles in favour of the Scandinavian union. During those years, Sturzen-Becker also published several pamphlettes and books which were very much stressing the concept of the Scandinavian union.¹⁸

¹⁶ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/rydberg.html>

¹⁷ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/>

¹⁸ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/b0555.html>

Tersmeden, Per Reinhold, - was born in 1805. Tersmeden was a member of the Nobility Estate until 1866 and worked for many years at the newspaper *Aftonbladet*. Tersmeden was one of the most skilled speakers within the Nobility Estate and expressed his opinions in questions of religion, tax regulations, the education system, and parliamentary reform.¹⁹

Wieselgren, Harald, Ossian, - born in 1835. He worked as a librarian, editor and historical writer. He graduated as phil.dr. in Lund in 1856. Thereafter, he went to Paris where he wrote political articles for French newspapers foremost regarding the Scandinavian question. In 1857, he returned and worked in the Royal Library where in 1877 he was promoted to first librarian. In 1864, Wieselgren was sent to London, Paris, and Munich etc. by the king in order to study the structure and organization of their libraries. Wieselgren worked at the Royal Library in Stockholm until 1900 even though he never became the head of its services.

In 1866-79 he was the editor of *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, which he made into one of the best illustrated and biographic newspapers of that period. Furthermore, he wrote many political articles for several newspapers and actively expressed his liberal ideas in politics.²⁰

Ugglas, Curt Gustaf af, - was born in Roslagen in 1820. He was an aristocrat and state official. Regarding his career, he became vice circuit judge in 1846 and member of Svea Court of Justice (hovrätt) in 1849, but in 1850 resigned from his duties in order to attend to the inherited landed estates.²¹

Wærn, Carl Fredrik d.y. – was born in Göteborg in 1819. During his lifetime he dedicated himself to several different professions such as shopkeeper (*handlande*), foundry proprietor, writer of historical and economical texts. In 1844, he gained burghership (*burskap*) as shopkeeper in Göteborg and in 1852 he entered in the business company of his father which he completely took over in 1858.

After having gained the status as burgher in 1844, Wærn was elected as representative of the town Göteborg in the Burghers' Estate in 1847 and was re-elected in 1850, 1853, 1859 and 1865. After the reform of the Riksdag Act in 1866, Wærn was elected as representative for Göteborg in the First Chamber. There he was a member of the State

¹⁹ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/b0598.html>

²⁰ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/b0726.html>

²¹ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/nfap/0639.html>

Committee (Statsutskottet) until 1870 after which he became Minister of Finance. Waern was a liberal foremost in economical questions and he was a strong supporter of the British Manchester politics. Furthermore, he was very much in favour of parliamentary reform. On a local basis, he was a member of Göteborg shopkeeper association council 1847-1863, he became an alderman of the burghers in 1858, he became a member of Göteborg Town Council in 1862, he was chairman in the board of Köping and Hults railway company in 1852-1858 etc.²²

Åkerhielm, Johan Gustaf Nils Samuel, - was born in Stockholm in 1833. After a military career, he became ambassador in Paris and in 1857 he was promoted as secretary within the cabinet of foreign correspondence. During the following years he served within the Foreign Ministry in St. Petersburg, Copenhagen and Vienna.

Furthermore, he was a member of the Nobility Estate during two Riksdagar in 1859-60 and 1865-66 where he voted in favour of parliamentary reform. In 1870, he was elected as representative for Södra Roslagens domsaga in the Second Chamber and in the following years he also took part in several committees. In 1874, he became Minister of Finance. In 1875, he was elected representative for Stockholm in the First Chamber where he remained until the Riksdag of 1893. In 1889, he became Foreign Minister under Prime Minister Bildt and already some few months later he became Prime Minister in which position he remained until 1891.²³

Ödmann, Samuel Martin, - was born in Gävle in 1822. Ödmann was a politician and publicist. In 1856, he became member of the Peasants' Estate and soon he became well-known as a supporter of liberal ideas and reforms. However, he was not re-elected for the following period in 1858, but then he started his idle work towards representative reform. From 1860-1864 he edited *Politisk Tidsskrift för Sveriges Allmoge*, where he discussed and propagated in favour of reform. In the Riksdag of 1863-65, he again became a representative in the Peasants' Estate and also worked as secretary of the reform committee which aim was to convince the Estate representatives about the need of reform. In 1865, he became the editor of *Fäderneslandet*.²⁴

²² <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/b0673.html>

²³ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/b0773.html>

²⁴ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/sbh/b0782.html>

A contemporary description of the towns

The following descriptions of the different towns which are mentioned in the thesis will be done according to what was written in the nineteenth century edition of *Nordisk Familjebok* (Scandinavian Encyclopedia).

Helsingborg

Just as many other towns, Helsingborg went through a change in the 1850s due to the fact that the population of Sweden increased with velocity. As a result, the people in the countryside who could not support themselves moved to the closest town where they tried to find casual work or get their own household to avoid becoming proletarians. In Helsingborg, the newcomers settled down mainly in the artisan quarters, but also in the outskirts of the town.²⁵ When the peasants started to sell their overproduction at the town markets there was no longer a need for the burgers to dedicate themselves to agriculture. On the contrary, they could concentrate on other businesses such as trade, handicraft and the running of fabrics. This was also facilitated by the more liberal trade legislation that had been established in the 1840s which furthermore resulted in an increasing amount of journeymen. Many of the journeymen became self-supporting and got the possibility to raise a family in the following decades. Until the middle of the 1860s, the amount of journeymen and apprentices as well as professional artisans was increasing continuously in Helsingborg. Due to the fact that social and economical differences among artisans were considerable at that time, the situation had changed so that the small artisans were down at the same level as the self-supporting journeymen.²⁶

Below the journeymen were the stratas of working men and other day-labourers that together formed the real working classes and that increased in connection with the mass migration to the town. The lower working classes contributed to the constant increasing „social span“ in Helsingborg in the 1860s.

²⁵*Helsingborgs Historia* (HH), vol. V:3, 1718-1862, red. G. Johansson, 1979, p. 12.

Göteborg

The town Göteborg is a port town and capital in the county of Göteborg and Bohus (län). During nineteenth century, the inhabitants increased from 12,490 in 1805, to 46,171 in 1860, and 76,401 in 1880. It was the second town in the country regarding size as well as importance of trade and shipping in general. Regarding international shipping businesses it was, however, the first and most important town in the country. On an industrial basis, Göteborg became more and more important during the nineteenth century but was still secondary to Stockholm and Norrköping. The industries in the town were mainly: tobacco-, cotton yarn-, sailcloth- and carpenter-industries.²⁷

The amount of people that dedicated themselves to different occupations were, according to the encyclopedia, 638 shopkeepers, or tradespeople, in 1858 in Göteborg. Together they had a staff of 432 persons. In the same year, the number of artisans was 302, with 415 journeymen, 445 apprentices and 47 general workers. Other things to mention in this sector is that there existed banks and credit offices such as Riksens Ständers Banks Lånekontor (the National Bank of the Estates), Enskild Bank (the Private Bank), Sparbank (the Savings Bank), Ränte- och Kapitalförsäkringsanstalt (Interest- and Capital Insurance Bank) and Göteborgs- och Bohus läns Hypoteksförening (Encumbrance Association).²⁸

The town was said to originally have been founded by Dutch immigrants and was described to have conserved the influence of Dutch architecture and atmosphere. The encyclopaedia stresses that the active trading- and business connections with England had very much influenced the habits and trends of the inhabitants. In the nineteenth century it had become more obvious. It was king Gustavus II Adolphus who founded the town in 1619 and actually gave it its first privileges in 1621. Then in 1665 it officially became an episcopate. In 1807, the functions of the town as fortress were abolished and the ramparts were destroyed. Furthermore, the fortress at Elfsborg (Elfsborgs fästning) was abolished and abandoned even though it continued to exist as a memory of past times and battles.²⁹

²⁶ H.H., V:3, pp. 19 and 24f.

²⁷ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/nfaf/0208.html> ; Historiskt-Geografiskt och Statistiskt Lexikon öfver Sverige, vol. III, G-H, 1883, p. 177. (Abbreviation – HGSL) According to this latter lexicon, the inhabitants in Göteborg in 1860 were 41,540 which was more or less 5000 less than what Nordisk Familjebok reported.

²⁸ HGSL, vol. III, 1883, p. 178.

²⁹ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/nfaf/0210.html>

Norrköping

A port town close to where the river *Motala* flows out into the bay *Bråviken* and situated in the county of Östergötland. The town was well connected through the railway net of *Östra stambanan*, the Eastern railway, and furthermore there were steamships sailing to Stockholm and other towns on a regular basis during that period.³⁰ The town was a victim of fires in 1803, 1812, 1822 and 1826 but was constantly rebuilt and managed to prosper in that period anyway. The streets of the town have mostly been constructed with straight lines and angles, and the buildings were mostly built after the fires. The main industries in Norrköping around 1860 were spinning cotton mills, weaving mills, tobacco factories, paper- and sugar factories.³¹

Stockholm

Stockholm was, and is, the capital town in Sweden and has, furthermore, always been the biggest town in the country. The town is situated on the east coast and is built on islands and islets on the shores of Mälaren and Saltsjön (lakes). The number of inhabitants increased from 108,640 in 1860, to 119,327 in 1862 and to 128,576 in 1864. However, the number of inhabitants in 1889 was, according to *Nordisk Familjebok*, 243,500 which means that the inhabitants should have doubled in 25 years.³² The main industries in Stockholm in the 1860s were dye works- (21), tobacco- (34), tannery- and cotton factories. In 1860 there were 1,345 artisans with 2,557 journeymen, 2,234 apprentices and 1,396 general workers. Among the artisans, there were 144 carpenters, 130 tailors, and 205 shoemakers. In the same year, there were 31 registered printing houses which all together had a staff of 482 persons. In the business and trading sector, there were 391 whole dealers, 1,189 shopkeepers and adding to those there were 19 who dealt with both whole dealing and shopkeeping. Furthermore, 1,769 women dealt with trading businesses.³³

³⁰ <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/nfak/0720.html>

³¹ HGSL, vol. V, 1883, p. 232f.

³² <http://www.lysator.liu.se/runeberg/nfao/0299.html> ; HGSL, vol. VI, 1883, p. 314.

³³ HGSL, vol. VI, 1883, p. 315.

